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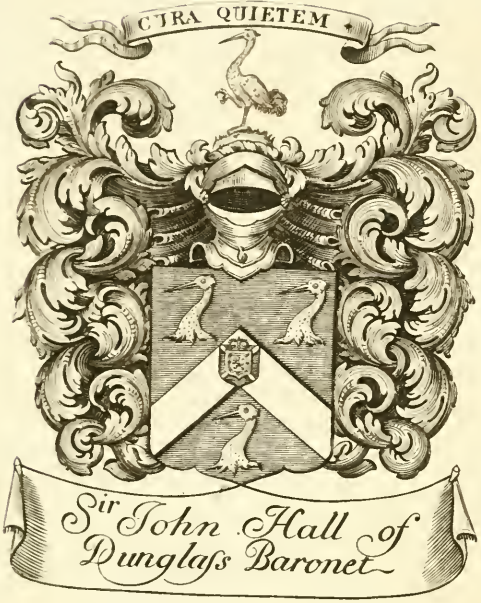

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THE BERNSTORFF PAPERS

VOL. I

THE BERNSTORFF PAPERS

THE LIFE OF COUNT ALBRECHT VON BERNSTORFF

BY

DR. KARL RINGHOFFER

TRANSLATED BY

MRS. CHARLES EDWARD BARRETT-LENNARD
AND M. W. HOPER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE RIGHT HON.
SIR ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT, BART.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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INTRODUCTION

By Sir ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT, Bart.

MRS. C. E. BARRETT-LENNARD and Miss Hoper, by their translation of "Im Kampfe für Preussens Ehre," have rendered substantial service to that numerous class of Englishmen who, without knowledge of German, take an interest in the politics and history of the nineteenth century.

The "Bernstorff Papers" are a record of the life and work of a distinguished Prussian, not perhaps in the first rank from the point of view of intellectual ability, but who filled with advantage to his country and with credit to himself high positions of State. He came of a family whose history was closely interwoven with that of North Germany and of Denmark. This latter circumstance for some time prejudiced his career in the Prussian service. The careful study, however, of that career will bring home to the student in a very striking form the great change that has taken place in the position of Prussia during the nineteenth century. Bernstorff was one of the few persons who in the days of his youth realized the possibility of Germany being united under the leadership of Prussia. To forward that cause was the work of his life. How difficult it was to foresee that event may be observed in the pages in which the position of Bernstorff when he was appointed Minister in Munich in 1845 is described. When he was received in audience for the first time by King Lewis I. he was

treated with scant courtesy, and had to listen to language from the mouth of the King which no sovereign in Germany would now address to a Prussian envoy. On that occasion Bernstorff repelled the King's attack with a combined deference and independence of spirit which at once placed him in the category of diplomatists destined to rise to the highest position in their profession. His temper and tact were severely tried later during the time of the Crimean War. He was then Ambassador in London. His sovereign, Frederick William IV., thought proper to send on a special mission to Queen Victoria, Count Usedom, a man brilliant rather than profound, and whose actions were always governed by unreasoning animosity for Austria. This special mission to an English sovereign was in itself extremely objectionable. Lord Palmerston especially among English ministers, resented undue interference with the Crown in foreign politics, and the position of Bernstorff, the accredited ambassador, became extremely difficult and disagreeable. The dignity and tact with which he surmounted these difficulties may be read in the pages of his book.

Extremely interesting to English readers will be the account of the relations between the Empress Eugénie and Bernstorff in London at the end of October, 1870. They met secretly at the house of Lord Cowley on October 24th. Metz had not then fallen, and it was proposed to the Empress that the Bonapartist dynasty should be restored by the army of Metz with the connivance of the German forces in France, provided the restored Government would agree to cede that portion of French territory which Germany desired to possess. The Empress at once refused, and said that rather than relinquish an inch of French territory she and her family would remain in exile for ever.

Bernstorff died on March 26th, 1873, much regretted by all who had the honour of his acquaintance, and especially by his many English friends, who, while fully appreciating and respecting his love and devotion to his own country, knew him to be, as far as the interests of that country would allow it, a sincere and discriminating advocate of cordial relations between Germany and Great Britain.

Mrs. Barrett-Lennard and Miss Hoper are to be congratulated on the style of their translation. They have purposely rendered the somewhat pompous German sentences into a more elegant and easy English form. It is sincerely to be hoped that they will continue their work of bringing German thought within reach of the general reader in this country.

THE translators desire gratefully to acknowledge the assistance they have received in the course of this work from Countess Victoria von Bernstorff, who has kindly read the MS. and made numerous valuable suggestions. Thanks are likewise due to Lord Stanmore for reading portions of the MS. and correcting some inaccuracies in the original text, and to Mr. E. L. Meinertzhagen and Professor Stevenson, of Glasgow, for supplying various useful items of information. Mention must also be made of the help rendered by the late Miss Bland, whose death occurred shortly before the completion of the work in which she took a lively interest.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I, p. 7, lines 21, 22, for "Frederick William" read "Friedrich Wilhelm."

„ p. 34, note 2, line 1, for "1892" read "1792."

„ p. 108, line 18, for "Carlo Alberto" read "Charles Albert."

Vol. II, p. 78, line 5, for "Prince of Prussia" read "Princess of Prussia."

THUS does the poet Klopstock sing of his beloved Stintenburg, which lies embosomed in trees on an island amid the echoes of the Schallsee in Lauenburg. Here it was that Count Albrecht von Bernstorff, with whose life the following pages are concerned, spent the

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BOYHOOD—THE HAGUE—ST. PETERSBURG—RETURN HOME—1809-1838.

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> Island of bliss and tranquil solitude!
> Beloved companion of the echoes all,
> And of the lake, that now shines broad and free,
> Now, like a stream, murmurs thy woods among!
> About thee falls the Saxon's forest shade,
> He whose stout sword made all thy foemen flee.
> No shield of Rome e'er glanced upon thy strand
> Nor despot eagles ever gathered there!

THUS does the poet Klopstock sing of his beloved Stintenburg, which lies embosomed in trees on an island amid the echoes of the Schallsee in Lauenburg. Here it was that Count Albrecht von Bernstorff, with whose life the following pages are concerned, spent the

happy years of his boyhood; and his affection for the place was so deeply rooted that in after years, wherever the vicissitudes of a busy life might lead him, his thoughts would constantly return to the old haunts, which were ever clothed in the glamour peculiar to the scenery of the north. The love of home is ingrained in the soul of the Lower Saxon; and a true son of his race was Bernstorff, possessed of all the virtues and of that reflective nature, serious yet susceptible of gaiety, which characterises this tribe of the German people. He was the scion of an ancient line which has been settled in that region since the middle ages, the Bernstorffs having been acknowledged lords of Bernstorff and Teschow in the region which now bears the name of Mecklenburg.

The family is very closely connected with the history of North Germany and of Denmark, and several members of it have made great names for themselves in the world. They appear to have been endowed with genuinely statesmanlike qualities, and the more prominent members of the family were distinguished for their benevolence and philanthropy, displaying a strong tendency to lead the van in all efforts for mental advancement among the people. One, Andreas Gottlieb von Bernstorff, in the seventeenth century, helped the Hanoverian Guelphs to obtain the Electorship, and rendered invaluable services in placing George I. upon the throne of England.

In the intellectual, political, and social development of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein two of the most important members of the Wotersen branch of the family played an active part. The importance of the work accomplished by Johann Hartwig Ernst, and his nephew Andreas Petrus, cannot adequately be conveyed by dry statistics and mere lists of dates. These two great men, who for a long term of years directed the politics of Den-

mark, made for themselves, by their enthusiasm for art and literature, their promotion of commerce, and above all by their high-souled championship of the lower classes, a memorial "more enduring than brass." Johann Hartwig Ernst it was who instituted reforms in the Danish poor-laws and laid the foundation of the public hospital in Copenhagen; and amid all his strenuous labours both political and social he never lost his sympathetic appreciation of the world of art and beauty. He and his nephew Andreas Petrus,[1] with a small band of faithful coadjutors, were the first to take steps for delivering the agricultural population from the heavy burdens which had oppressed them since the middle ages. Andreas Petrus afterwards still further developed the work he had begun with his uncle, whose warm enthusiasm he had enlisted on behalf of a reform in existing social conditions. As a chief factor in this reform we may mention the law of June 20th, 1788, which prepared the way for the abolition of serfdom in Schleswig-Holstein. The actual realisation of this great object Andreas Petrus did not, however, live to see. Germans have reason to be proud of the reforms in home politics effected by these men, for, as cannot be sufficiently emphasized, they were not Danes but Germans, both intellectually and by descent. Denmark, as we shall again have occasion to mention, was not at that time considered a separate nation in the sense it is to-day. An instance of this is supplied by the fact that Johann Hartwig Ernst sent for the poet Klopstock, who was much admired in Denmark, and was able to secure a pension for him. Both these Bernstorffs are examples of that genuine aristocracy

[1] Andreas Petrus' first wife was Henrietta, Countess Stolberg zu Stolberg, sister of the Counts Stolberg who were friends of Goethe; his second wife was her sister Auguste Louise (1753–1835), known for her correspondence with Goethe. There is a fine portrait of her at Stintenburg.

which esteems as its highest privilege the dedication of a whole life to the interest of the common weal. A distinguishing feature of both men is that while strongly valuing their own opinions, they could respect those of others, and had no wish to see intellectual liberty interfered with.

The said Andreas Petrus was Albrecht von Bernstorff's grandfather, the founder of the Dreylützow-Stintenburg branch of the family. In consequence of Struensee's influence he was obliged to live out of Denmark for many years, but was eventually recalled by Frederik VI. and appointed leader of the Government. The fifth son of this gifted man was Count Friedrich,[1] the father of Albrecht. He married in 1803 Ferdinandine, Baroness von Hammerstein, of the house of Equord at Hildesheim. Countess Elise von Bernstorff[2] writes of her as the model of all the noblest female virtues. "Both old and young," she says, "delighted in her society . . . she was so inexpressibly charming that it was the greatest joy to me to be with her!" The young couple took up their abode in the château of Dreylützow, the property of Count Christian Günther, in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, of which Count Friedrich was administrator. Here he remained with intervals of absence occasioned by the wars, until the Duchy of Lauenburg, in which was situated the fief of Stintenburg, the Count's estate, was handed over to the King of Denmark. In 1804 their first son was born. The gloomy year 1806 brought distress and

[1] Born July, 1773, at Bernstorff, near Copenhagen; in the Danish service 1790; three years later assisted at the siege of Mainz on the staff of Prince Friedrich of Hesse. He accompanied the Prince to the Netherlands in the following autumn, where he served as a volunteer in the Hessian army corps, then fighting against the French.

[2] Née Countess von Dernath. Her mother, Charlotte von Dernath, was the fourth child of Count Andreas von Bernstorff. Elise married her uncle, Count Christian Günther von Bernstorff, known in Prussian history as a Minister of State under Frederick William III.

misery to the happy family circle, as it did to the whole of Germany. "The troubles of war," writes Countess Elise, "at last approached us Holsteiners. The French, exasperated by Blücher's pursuit, forced a violent entrance into the house at Dreylützow. They snatched the keys of the wine-cellar from our dear Fritz, and many of them rushed upstairs. Nandine heard the clatter of arms close to her door, and leaving her bureau open with all her valuables to be robbed by the French, she seized the children and ran with them to the loft, where, still hearing the steps of her pursuers, she hid under a trap-door. The French, blind with fury, searched the loft in vain. The unfortunate mother hardly dared breathe, and had one of the small children made the slightest sound they would all have been lost.

"When at length the house was again quiet, my brother-in-law stole upstairs and ventured to fly with his wife and children by a back-door. Happily they escaped under cover of the gathering darkness, and in a neighbouring wood under the open sky they found the only refuge in which they could remain with any security. Here, without shelter and without covering, they passed the cold, wet, October night, and when morning broke they saw the hostile marauders, but fortunately without being themselves noticed. A faithful servant, Karl Riemann, procured a wagon, which took them to Badow, the property of their friends, the von Dörings. Thence they went by stealth to Holstein, and so on to Copenhagen. But here, too, an anxious time awaited them, and it was one of probation to our gentle Nandine, whom no one could ever have credited with possessing the strength to weather the storms of life."

In Copenhagen they found a refuge with Count Joachim von Bernstorff, the fourth son of Count Andreas Petrus, who had married Sophie von Blücher. After the Peace of Tilsit, however, Denmark was forced by England into a secret

treaty with France (it will be remembered that the English men-of-war took possession of the Danish fleet), so that Count Friedrich and his wife were obliged to leave Copenhagen, owing to the terrible position in which the town was placed. In August, 1807, they reached Emckendorf safely with their own and Count Joachim's children. They found their country in a deplorable state; it had suffered most severely from the war, nearly everything having been taken away by the French. Consequently there was sore distress for a long time in their household, and it was long before they returned to their former manner of living. "Dreylützow," writes Countess Elise, "was an unhealthy place, and the children were often ailing."

Here Count Albrecht, the subject of this memoir, was born on March 22nd, 1809. The first years of his life were passed under unfavourable circumstances, and it was not until his parents took up their residence at Stintenburg that new and better days began for the family. Count Johann Hartwig Ernst built a new château on the site of the one which dated from the middle ages. Countess Elise gives a pleasing description of the place: "These charming people, Fritz and Nandine, then left Dreylützow, where they had long been living, and where, though but guests themselves, they had always been to me the most kind of hosts. They moved to Stintenburg, their beautiful island home in the Schallsee, of which Klopstock has sung, and which would inspire even my prosaic pen, were I to indulge in a description of it."

Countess Elise gives a sympathetic picture of Bernstorff's mother, the Countess Nandine, but of his father's character there is only one mention.

A high standard of mental culture prevailed in the Bernstorff circle, and its atmosphere was an essentially German one, for in spite of their country belonging to Denmark, all

the members of the family, even those actually residing in Denmark, looked upon themselves as Germans. Stress should be laid upon this fact, because in after years Count Albrecht was frequently taunted by many old Prussians with being "a foreigner."[1] Now it is well known that Denmark, during the whole of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, was entirely under German influence, and even Danish writers of comparatively recent date, such as Baggesen, Oehlenschläger, Hauch, and Andersen prided themselves on writing in German, and belonging to that school of literature. We therefore repeat that Count Albrecht's education was a thoroughly German one. From his earliest years the boy conceived an enthusiasm for the Emperors of the Middle Ages and the Imperial glories of ancient times. But that the children should hear nothing in their home of the great Germanic Commonwealth, as now understood, is comprehensible. Some of the best minds of the day went no further than to forecast a mighty empire in which Austria and Prussia would live together harmoniously, something after the fashion of the "Teuschland" pictured in later years by the romantic spirit of Frederick William IV. Only a few of the more enlightened realized that it would be necessary to exclude Austria, and they were aware that the end in view could only be attained by revolutions of a most formidable character. Monarchists and Conservatives were scared by the idea of a United Germany, feeling that the pursuit of such an aim might force them into touch with the subversive elements in European politics, which all Conservatives held in abhorrence since the days of the French Revolution. It is worthy of comment that amid the confused notions then prevalent as to the reconstitution of the Fatherland, young Bernstorff should

[1] It was only at the Congress of Vienna that Lauenburg was made over to Denmark.

so early have recognized that Prussia was destined to the hegemony in Germany. This view was called forth first by the stories handed down of the glorious deeds of the Prussians in the struggle with Napoleon I. When the boy looked back to those days of German rising, and thought of the famous men it had brought forth; when he compared their wide aims with the narrow political conditions then existing around him, he was overpowered with the conviction that some day a way *must* be found out of this deplorable state of things. *How* it was to be found he did not, of course, know. Of one thing only he was perfectly assured, that the office of deliverer would be assigned to Prussia. She alone could prevent a recurrence of such deeds of brutality as the French had wrought in his home. A definitely patriotic bias may also have been given to his opinions by his mother's oft-repeated descriptions of scenes during the Wars of Liberation.

There was a great contrast between the educational methods of Albrecht's parents. His father was stern, a man of few words and rather reserved with his sons; his mother was gentle, and keenly desirous to soften the harsh side of her husband's character. Her chief affection was centred in her elder son, but she could do justice to the younger. In an account of her children written to a friend in 1818, she says of Albrecht, then nine years old: "He learns the best of them all." Two years later: "Albrecht will certainly learn a great deal one of these days; he is very forward for his age." In religious matters also, his mother exercised a stronger influence upon Albrecht than did his father, who was more or less of a Rationalist. It was to her that he owed his Christian principles, and throughout his life he held fast to the faith once delivered to him in the bosom of his family, where the Gospel precepts were made the rule of conduct. At that period a reaction had set in

against the hitherto predominant spirit of Rationalism, and, within the confines of the Lutheran church especially, people were returning to a profounder and more vital belief in the doctrines of Christianity. Countess Elise refers to the close spiritual intercourse prevailing between many members of the upper classes and the people. Although beneath this religious revival there may have run an undercurrent of exaggeration hardly of a religious character, yet the deepening of Christian consciousness is a conspicuous feature of the society of that date. At all events, the exaggerations of the new movement did not affect Count Friedrich's family, and the simple and sincere belief in God which ruled the household was a blessing to the children throughout their after-careers. This deep religious sentiment, devoid of all fanaticism, was, as it were, the good angel of Count Albrecht's life. He never, like too many others, wore his heart upon his sleeve in matters of religion, but neither did he fear an open confession of his faith, nor would he hesitate to stand up manfully in its defence when occasion so required. Such was the atmosphere in which Count Albrecht von Bernstorff spent the first years of his youth, and it exercised a determining influence upon his intellectual nature. Rich materials for a history of his inner development, from the days of childhood till he reached man's estate, are supplied in records written by his wife. She draws a simple and pleasing picture of the Count's boyhood.

"Albrecht," she says, "was always considered a bright, clever, and industrious child. He worked with the greatest eagerness at his lessons, especially at history, to which he was devoted. From his earliest years he had conceived the desire for a great and united Germany, an aim which, indeed, at that time could only have hovered like a far-off dream before his boyish imagination. Until he entered school he was taught at home by an excellent tutor, who afterwards

was appointed pastor on the S. Georgsberg at Ratzeburg. Albrecht went through his first class course in the school at Ratzeburg, riding out every Saturday, often through deep snow, to his family at Stintenburg, a distance of three miles.[1]

"The result of his up-bringing amid the solitary and secluded beauties of Stintenburg was very observable. His serious mind, formed under his mother's influence, and his generous disposition, indicated that he had passed his childhood at a distance from the world. At first, indeed, he might have struck one as lacking in knowledge of mankind, so readily did he give every one credit for as much generous forbearance, benevolence, and gratitude as he had himself."

After his school days were over, his father sent him to study law at Göttingen, the favourite university for the sons of the North German nobles. Here he diligently attended the courses of the most celebrated legal professors, with a preference for the lectures on politics and political economy; and he had various private studies as well. He also practised fencing and athletics under Eylerts, the famous fencing master, who spoke of him as his "best pupil."

Young Bernstorff often made excursions into the surrounding country, and took an especial delight in the ruins of the splendid old castles which he visited in company with his friends. Among the latter were three Counts Westphalen, and a Count Oberg, whom he calls "the most delightful man imaginable." The fact of his preferring the company of such of his fellow-students as belonged to the nobility seems to have aroused some anxiety in the mind of his uncle, Count Caius Reventlow,[2] lest his nephew should become quite estranged from ordinary middle-class society.

[1] A German mile is about four and three-quarters English miles.—Tr.

[2] Count Reventlow of Altenhof. He married Luise, sister of Count Friedrich von Bernstorff.

He writes on this subject to Bernstorff's mother, who called her son to account for it. Bernstorff's answer is sufficiently characteristic of him to be quoted here. "But tell me, my dearest mamma," he writes, "what do you exactly mean by my unfortunate family pride? So far as I know, it is nothing whatever but an exaggerated interest—I am ready to admit that sometimes, perhaps, it borders on folly—in everything which concerns antiquity, genealogy, and noble birth. This often leads me to speak more about these things than I ought, just as every one likes to talk of what amuses him. But when has anybody ever seen me haughty in my bearing towards an inferior, or when have I ever let him even suppose I was so? As for those who are my equals, or superiors, they would only treat such behaviour as a joke. So what grounds can anyone have for being offended by my pride? Birth, in and for itself, certainly gives a man no value in my eyes, and I should by no means esteem a nobleman more highly on that account than any other man of the same intrinsic worth; although it is possible that I might feel more drawn to him, because it is almost always natural to a man to take to his equals. Personally, of course, I do take a satisfaction in my noble birth, but as it is a compensation for many other earthly happinesses I have to forego, I do not think it an unfortunate proclivity, and I assure you this feeling has never yet led me to do anything wrong."

In Göttingen Bernstorff was much scoffed at for going to church on Sundays, and we may perhaps assign this as a cause for his frequent fits of melancholy. However, these soon wore off amid the cheerful surroundings of the old university town, and as the time drew near for him to leave Göttingen, he began to feel how thoroughly happy he had been there with his fellow-students. Especially sorry was he to part from Young Herr von Werther, the son of the well-

known Minister of state. As Werther was often to play a part in his after life, the following words, from one of Bernstorff's letters, may be quoted here: "Werther, to whom I am much attached, I shall probably be with for some time longer as he also is going to Berlin at Easter, and is going to enter the same profession as myself. He began his studies at the same time as I did, but he is far more advanced than I am, from having always lived in the first capitals of Europe. He speaks French like a Frenchman, and is already a finished diplomatist, at which we cannot help being sometimes very much amused."

Before his time at Göttingen was over, Bernstorff's thoughts, as can be understood, turned upon his future. In his letters to his father he expresses his wish to enter the Prussian service, saying that the service of that power was the only one possessing any attraction for him. He had been devoted to Prussia from his childhood, and it was in that country alone that the diplomatic career seemed of any value, and on it he had set his heart. But of course he did not wish to enter upon it till he had completed his studies in jurisprudence. His father could not refuse to grant his request, and in the autumn of 1829, Albrecht went as a student to Berlin, where he was received with open arms by his uncle, Count Christian Günther von Bernstorff, a Minister of state to Friedrich Wilhelm III.[1]

Nothing could be more touching than the intense affection shown by the elder man, who had no son of his own, for his young nephew. His house was a second home to Bernstorff, and he gave the young man an entrée into the best

[1] Count Christian Günther von Bernstorff, son of the Danish Minister, Count Andreas Petrus, was born in Copenhagen in 1769; entered the diplomatic service of Denmark 1787; was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Denmark 1800–1810; and Minister to Vienna from 1811–1815; Minister to Berlin from 1817–1818. In May, 1818, at the advice of Blücher and Hardenberg he was made Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Resigned office 1832. Died 1835.

society where he could widen his knowledge of men and things, and he further introduced him to the notice of the King. Count Christian also cared for his nephew's mental advancement, encouraging him to take an interest in a variety of intellectual pursuits, and in this he was nobly seconded by his wife, the Countess Elise, a woman of great ability and refinement. Bernstorff's letters to his mother often painted in such glowing colours the happiness he enjoyed in his uncle's house, that she became almost jealous of these relations. However, she was aware that her son could nowhere get so good an introduction into the world and life in general as under their auspices.

His letters at this period are chiefly concerned with the life of the upper circles in Berlin. He alludes in one of them to his having danced at a party with the beautiful Elise Radziwill, the early love of the Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Kaiser Wilhelm I., and he speaks in the most enthusiastic terms of the Radziwill house as a place of high intellectual and social culture. In Berlin he met a number of eminent people whose names were in every one's mouth, amongst them the Russian Captain Diebitsch, a noted figure of the Russo-Turkish war, whom he describes as a little, ugly, thick-set man, but who, he says, displayed much wit and humour in conversation. He also met the old Minister of state, Haugwitz,[1] who impressed him as an apparition from the dead and buried past.

As was the case with many young German nobles at that period, the July Revolution aroused in Bernstorff a lively sympathy for the cause of the French King. With all the ardour of youth he hoped there would be a war to reinstate the legitimate dynasty, and he wished, so he tells his mother,

[1] Christian Heinrich Carl, Count von Haugwitz, born 1750, died 1832, Prussian statesman, of whom Seeley in his "Life and Times of Stein," writes "he may be called the Ruin of Prussia."—Tr.

that he could "mount his war-horse," and take part in the struggle, and when his mother remonstrated in horror that he would risk losing his life, or at least, his arms and legs, he waved her objections affectionately aside in a proper military manner. Later, when it transpired that intervention was out of the question, he felt greatly disappointed.

Count Christian Günther acted the part of protector to his nephew, also after he left Berlin. "I could hardly," so the good man writes to Bernstorff's mother, "bestow a more lively affection on my own son!" He had arranged for Bernstorff, after he had passed his second law examination, to go to Merseburg as a "royal Prussian Auscultator."[1] A dreary time was in store for Count Albrecht in this old town, which he describes as "a frightful den, just like the little mining towns in the Harz, crooked and winding, with horribly paved streets and squalid houses." During his sojourn there was an outbreak of cholera, but Bernstorff resolutely refused to leave. "Such a step," he writes to Count Christian, "would be compatible neither with my office nor my manhood."

After the expiration of his time of office he was appointed, probably at the instance of his uncle, as Prussian attaché to Hamburg, which necessitated his preparing for the second diplomatic examination, successfully passed a few months later, and Count Christian Günther, triumphantly imparting the good news to the parents, remarked that "the young chamberlain is returning home like a conqueror."

Not long afterwards a welcome change was effected with regard to Bernstorff's finances, a change which was indirectly due to a provision made by his kind old friend, Count Christian Günther. The latter was the owner of the property of Dreylützow in Mecklenburg, the entail to which had never been confirmed. His uncle Christian though

[1] The first grade of a barrister.—Tr.

he left no son,[1] had three daughters, but he always cherished the desire of keeping the estate in the Bernstorff family, and in order that no injustice might be committed by having any partiality, he determined that his brothers should draw lots for the ownership of the property. This was done after his death, and the lot fell to Albrecht's father, Count Friedrich, who thereupon wrote laconically to his family:

"Albrecht can marry." Until then it had been impossible for the latter to think of supporting a wife in a manner befitting his rank. Count Christian Günther died in 1835. It was the first great sorrow of Count Albrecht's life, but he lived on in spirit with the departed, and his uncle's noble character was to him an abiding and precious memory. He liked to recall little anecdotes of the old man, as for example: "how he (Albrecht) had hurried off immediately after passing the diplomatic examination to be the first to bring the good news. And how the invalid, who was laid up with the gout, had embraced him with tears in his eyes, and had presented him with a gold watch" (still in the possession of the Bernstorff family).

Just before Count Christian's decease, Albrecht had been appointed Secretary of Legation in Holland. Before this he had been offered a post at Copenhagen which Count Radczinsky, the Prussian Minister, urged him to accept. Acting, however, on his uncle's advice he refused the post. "You are still far too much of a Dane," said Count Christian, "to be able to appear at the Danish Court as a representative of a foreign power which may easily come into opposition with Danish interests."

In his letters from the Hague, Bernstorff gives a clever description of Dutch society, and his accounts of the stolidity and stiffness of the people, and their original customs, are written in a felicitous vein of humour. He was received

[1] Countess von Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

with open arms at the Hague, where foreigners were usually regarded askance, and many pleasant hours were spent at the house of Count Maltzahn, the Prussian Minister, in the company of his cheery wife and charming daughters. The following year finds Bernstorff as Secretary of Legation at Munich. "Albrecht," writes the Countess Anna, "was fortunate in escaping cholera in Merseburg, but he fell a victim to the disease in the Bavarian capital. Though he did not have a really acute attack, he, nevertheless, felt so wretchedly ill that he had to keep his room for weeks, and his physique, generally so robust, was long in getting over the effects of this illness. While outwardly losing nothing of his youthful elasticity, he yet found himself unequal to much exertion, and had to observe a certain discretion in his diet.

"In Munich he won the affectionate esteem of his chief, Count Dönhoff, as well as that of several eminent persons in Munich society. With the families of Count Giech and Count Kielmannsegge he was on especially friendly terms. Their wives were sister and daughter respectively of the famous Freiherr vom Stein. In later years he was brought again into contact with Count and Countess Giech. The Count was blind and bore his affliction with much patience and resignation, travelling a great deal in spite of it, and receiving many people at his house in Munich. His wife was distinguished for her intellectual attainments. Both ladies showed a sympathetic interest in the young diplomat."

Bernstorff's sojourn in Munich was not destined to be of long duration, however, for by January, 1837, he was sent to St. Petersburg, where the same autumn he was promoted to the post of Councillor of Legation. He afterwards gave a fascinating account of his residence in the Russian capital. It was at the most brilliant period of the Tsar Nicholas's reign, when that potentate was at the zenith of his power.

Surrounded by his children, with his amiable consort, the Tsarina Charlotte, at his side, the centre of a pomp and luxury unknown in Germany, the Tsar was an imposing personality, a grand and an awe-inspiring figure. The Tsarina always kept a warm place in her heart for her fellow-countrymen, and the Tsar showed signal favour to the young Prussian, thus facilitating his entrance into Russian society, where he was welcomed with the greatest *empressement*. Bernstorff was often invited to small family parties at Court, when everything would be very quiet and informal; and he used to relate how on one occasion, in playing a game, the Tsar sat on his knee. The Tsarina, too, showed him the greatest favour; so that the news of his appointment to Paris in 1838 was received with dissatisfaction by their Majesties—in fact, they tried to have it cancelled. But this was not at all according to Bernstorff's wishes, and although he was grateful for all the friendliness he had experienced at St. Petersburg, he was none the less delighted at the prospect of promotion to a new position in Paris. He went to Berlin, travelling without a break for a week, partly by sleigh, partly by coach. The Tsarina, who was going to Berlin in the spring, told him on parting at St. Petersburg that she was going to ask her father, the King, to let him act as Chamberlain to her during her visit. So it was with a smiling future before him, after a short stay in Berlin, he started for Stintenburg. At Perleberg he found a courier waiting for him, and immediately apprehended evil tidings. His foreboding was but too soon confirmed, as the messenger brought the news of his father's death from a stroke while out walking. On reaching home he found everything in great confusion, and his poor mother prostrate with grief and utterly incapable of making any arrangements. In addition to his own sorrow he was beset by material

worries, all money affairs being in confusion.[1] He had a hard task to reduce the chaos to some sort of order, and to pay all outstanding debts. Their mother never knew what her sons did for her at this time. He and his elder brother were indefatigable in their labours, which were performed at considerable personal sacrifice, and with feelings which made them both desire to keep the truth from their mother. There being urgent need of the owner's constant presence at Dreylützow, and Bernstorff having but little taste for agriculture, for which, besides, his profession allowed him no leisure, he agreed to exchange properties, the brother taking Dreylützow, while he himself took Stintenburg. "He was intensely fond of this place," says the Countess. "The peculiar charm of its position—it seemed to breathe an atmosphere of poetry—appealed to him greatly, whereas the situation of Dreylützow, possessing no natural beauty, had less attraction for him. His home affairs necessitated an extension of leave, and he was also obliged to decline the appointment of Chamberlain to the Tsarina of Russia. He used afterwards to say that he was not sure that the Tsarina did not bear him a grudge in consequence. Certain it is that he never again enjoyed any special favour or any friendly remembrance from that quarter. Of course he had not many personal relations with Russia afterwards, official relations with that Power being what concerned him. Often in later years he was regarded either as a friend or foe of Russia, though neither epithet was justifiable. It may

[1] The affairs had not suffered so much from mismanagement as by the horrors of the French invasion, from which the agriculture of that district had never recovered. It is well known that the French made fearful havoc and drove off the cattle. Ever since that time the property had brought in very little. Bernstorff's father had tried manfully to grapple with the untoward circumstances, and in his affection for his family he had kept all knowledge of his affairs from them.

be recorded as pre-eminently true of Bernstorff that he was actuated with but one motive—the promotion of Prussia's greatness and power, and that he strove unremittingly to realize this ideal and faithfully to perform his duties. Never did he permit himself to be guided by personal sentiment when dealing with questions affecting the welfare of the state or with subjects of high political import.

CHAPTER II

NOVITIATE—NAPLES—PARIS—MUNICH

Councillor of Legation in Paris—Louis Philippe and his Court—The Koenneritz family—Marriage—Berlin—Munich—Adverse fortunes of the Bernstorffs—Bernstorff replaces Küster at Naples—Severe illness of the Countess—Sorrento—Recall—Death of Friedrich Wilhelm III.—The European situation—Return home—Bernstorff as chargé d'affaires in Paris—Death of the Duke of Orleans—Councillor to the Ministry—Birth of a son—Bülow's serious illness—Ambassador at Munich—Début at the Court of King Ludwig—Lola Montez—Fall of the Abel Ministry—The Maurer Cabinet—Society in Munich—Robbery at the Legation—Present and letter from Friedrich Wilhelm IV.—Disturbances in Munich—Flight of Lola Montez—Bernstorff appointed Minister at Vienna.

IN the summer of 1838 Bernstorff was moved to the Prussian Legation in Paris, where his old and distinguished name procured him the best of receptions at the Court of the Roi Bourgeois, and in the upper circles of society. He came to the French capital with views and conceptions not wholly free from prejudice. As we have seen, he had been always anti-French, ever since the days of his childhood, so that it is the more remarkable that it should have been in Paris of all places that he was destined to lay the foundation of a life-long happiness. It was here that he made the acquaintance of the daughter of Baron von Koenneritz, the Saxon Minister, a young girl richly endowed with the highest gifts of mind and heart. The whole of the romance, the story of his love and marriage, are so pleasingly set forth in his letters to his mother, and are described with

so much refinement and delicacy of expression, that any further comment is superfluous.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"PARIS, *July 27th*, 1838.

". . . . I feel somewhat desolate in this big city. I have hardly any acquaintances here, and those few I have I see scarcely anything of, for everyone goes his own way. I ride, walk, drive, and go about the town almost every day to see something or other. As a rule I come back with empty pockets, for the shops are too tempting for words, and one is always wanting something. I have been twice to the theatre to see 'The Huguenots,' which is wonderful, and it bears a strong resemblance to 'Robert le Diable.' . . . Now and then I go into society, either here or in the country. Countess Apponyi[1] is really extraordinarily good to me. She has practically taken me under her wing, has bid me apply to her for whatever I want, and so on. As you know, dearest mamma, she plays a great part in the fashionable world, and she is a very good and charming woman. Another house I much like visiting is that of the Saxon Minister von Koenneritz.[2] One meets with really refreshing German home-life there. He is a very good-looking man, with agreeable manners, and she is a very pleasing, cultivated, and domestic woman. The eldest daughter, quite a young girl, is particularly pretty, and has the sweet German

[1] The wife of the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, much liked by Bernstorff on account of her amiable disposition.

[2] Hans Heinrich Baron von Koenneritz of Lossa and Erdmannsdorf; at that time Privy Councillor, and for many years Minister in Paris. Later on Master of the Household and Lord Chamberlain. B. Feb. 7th, 1788, d. May 21st, 1863. Married Louise, *née* Baroness von Werthern, who was born Sept. 9th, 1798, d. Oct. 10th, 1891. Had issue, Anna Countess Bernstorff; Rose, mar. Herr von Heygendorff; Richard, Count von Koenneritz, b. 1828; Léonce, b. 1835, d. 1890, Minister of Finance in Saxony.

girlish expression. They live some little way out in the country. My old friend, Frau von Meyendorff, I have also come across again here. About a week ago I was presented to the King and Queen of the French at Neuilly. No one else was there, so that I have not yet seen the young Princes. The King asked me what relation I was to Uncle Christian and to my grandfather, whom he had once seen at Copenhagen. He was very pleasant, and so were the two ladies. He is not distinguished in appearance, but looks sensible. The Queen has a very pleasant expression, and I think she must be like the Emperor Franz, to whom she is nearly related. One drives out to Neuilly and calls in a dress coat. The King wore a dress coat and pumps, quite elegant. He also wears a wig, which does not add to his beauty."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"PARIS, *September 16th*, 1838.

". . . . My means are so small that it still depends entirely on my profession whether I shall be able to marry or not. This is a prospect which I cannot and will not give up. It seems to become more and more necessary if one would have, not only an outwardly satisfactory future, but also a happy one in a higher sense. I shall go on here for a bit as I am, but the thought of marriage keeps growing more active within me, and if my position admitted of it, I don't know that I should not think even more seriously of it. . . . A short while ago, one warm September evening, I rode out to the Koenneritz's at the Château de Vaucresson, a good mile and a half from here. I enjoy rides, particularly to such pleasant people. One rides first through the Bois de Boulogne, then through St. Cloud and its park, which lies high on a steep rise above the banks of the Seine, whence there is a fine view of Paris and its environs; after that the

ride is through vineyards, or rather vinefields, so that the whole route is pretty and attractive. My horses, and especially my beautiful 'Britannia,' meet with general approval, are treated at Vaucresson with due honour, and this is, of course, rather flattering to my pride as a cavalier. As I have often mentioned the Koenneritz family to you, and as they are the people I shall probably see the most of, for they are soon returning to town now, you would perhaps like to have some more details about them. He is a tall, fine, very distinguished-looking man, still in the prime of life, about fifty, I think, but his hair is a good deal grizzled. He is universally respected as a genuine German nobleman. She was a Baroness von Werthern, of one of the most distinguished, and formerly one of the most influential families in our Duchy of Saxony. Pretty, you cannot exactly call her any longer, but she has a pleasant, womanly expression, and an essentially German type of face. She is an excellent Hausfrau, and mother, and a fond wife. Here in Paris, where they literally do not know what marriage means, it is good to see such a relationship as exists between these two. The Apponyi marriage is also a very happy one, by the way. I recollect that my late friend, Oberg, in his letters from Paris, writes of his great liking for Frau von Koenneritz. Koenneritzses have four children, of whom the eldest two are daughters, the youngest boy being only a few years old, and a very pretty little fellow. The younger of the daughters, Rosa, is scarcely grown up, and the elder, Anna, is also quite young—in fact, I do not know exactly how old she is. She is very pretty, of medium height, with light brown hair, delicate regular features, and a complexion of milk and roses. She is particularly blooming and fresh looking, and is very well grown. The younger one has not such pretty features, and looks pale and sickly, but she is a pretty girl, all the same, though very quiet and

rather sedate. They are both very clever, well brought up, and talented, and are thoroughly well bred. To have been brought up by good German parents amid all the advantages which Paris can offer, must be a good thing. The Apponyis and Koenneritzses are very intimate, and see much of one another. Young Countess Apponyi, who is quite a girl, is also extremely well brought up."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"PARIS, *November 19th*, 1838.

". . . . My darling Mamma,

"I have all kinds of thoughts constantly running in my head just now, and when I return in the evening from having been in the company of my friends in the country, I often involuntarily find a lovely image hovering before my eyes at night. I don't think this has ever happened to me before about any girl. Is that a decisive sign? I cannot tell. I don't believe a man has a choice in this great question. God chooses for him. So I have not chosen and am not going to choose. If it is to be, it cannot be otherwise. With our brains and understandings we cannot attain to the knowledge of what is profitable for us. Hearts must find one another unaided. God alone can guide us, and I often pray Him not to let me go astray. Therefore I do not struggle against the feelings which He has put into my heart, and which are not and cannot be impure. How far they will lead me I leave to Him. Calm reflection and commonsense show me no insurmountable objections."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"PARIS, *December 23rd*, 1838.

". . . . I have just come out of church. As it is raining and I cannot take my customary ride, I am writing a line to you

to-day, my dear darling mamma, although I still am waiting for the opportunity to write a proper letter. But I must needs write something now, for my heart is so full. Oh, it has never been so full in my life! I was in church when Frau von Koenneritz came in with her daughters. As the pastor was at the altar, she waited in the doorway, just opposite me. When I saw *her* there with her eyes cast down in prayer, well, I can't tell you what I felt. She looked like a Madonna. I had gone to church to-day on purpose to thank God in His holy place from the very bottom of my heart, for mamma, I must tell you at once, that it is as good as settled! I have the parents' consent, and they have not left me in any doubt as to that of the girl herself, even if I could feel any."

Bernstorff had had his mind made up for a long time, but in the "limited and uncertain conditions" of his income, it had seemed impossible for him to become the suitor "for such a jewel." At last, however, the silence had to be broken, for "the world" was beginning to interfere, assailing the parents with questions and "accosting" Bernstorff himself on the subject. It is thoroughly characteristic of his simple manly notions of honour that he should have wished to act "in the most straightforward manner in these affairs of the heart." Through his friend, Countess Giech, the mother was prepared for his intentions. She and the father gladly consented, declaring that as far as they were concerned, "considerations as to means did not exist." The mother even rejoiced at the thought that her "home-bred little one" would have to begin in a modest way. In the above letter of December 23rd, Bernstorff has also written as follows: "Her mother said to me: 'Don't you think she is too young? You must still educate her.'" But he adds: "It will not be necessary to educate her; it is a peculiar joy, a peculiar

happiness, to be given a young creature like this who has, so far, received hardly any impressions from without, and is still pliant, docile and malleable. And it is beautiful to think that this is the first genuine feeling that has ever touched her maidenly heart." . . .

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"PARIS, *December 29th*, 1838.

"It has all come about more quickly than I thought, and than I told you when I last wrote. To-day I embraced my affectionate fiancée, my dear, sweet fiancée, who thoroughly reciprocates my affection. I could not put it off any longer. Her mother could not help telling her that I had serious intentions, and was shortly going to speak to her. It was too hard for the girl, and for me, to keep meeting one another daily before people in this way. She had asked her mother, good child, what answer she was to give me, and when her mother replied: 'Exactly what your heart tells you,' she joyfully exclaimed: 'May I?' Afterwards her mother asked her: 'Well, what are you going to answer?' whereupon she replied: 'Oh, I would rather tell him that myself.' So to-day when I arrived there at four o'clock, as had been arranged, and we were left alone, she did tell it me as frankly and unaffectedly as possible. It was bliss to be able to say 'mine' for the first time! She is so gentle, so tender! We have given up saying 'Sie' to one another, it would be impossible to do that—although we have still to be horridly correct, and dare not even take each other's hands in public!"

In a letter of March 25th, 1839, Bernstorff, after referring to the genuine and simple piety of the Koenneritz family, says:—

"It is an especial and indescribable comfort to me to have obtained a religiously brought-up young girl. I would not

have had one who was not so for anything in the world, and could never have resolved to marry without that assurance. Not that I myself am as religious as I ought to be, nor as I might be from my up-bringing, but the value, the need of being so, I have never failed to recognize, even in my most youthful and frivolous days. This I owe entirely to the high principles which you instilled into our youthful hearts from earliest childhood by your maternal teaching and painstaking care. It is to you I owe the knowledge of what a Christian mother and a Christian wife are worth.

"You can have no conception of my Anna's dearness. I have never in my life seen so radiant, so tender an engaged girl. She has not, indeed, a passionate nature, but is full of womanly gentleness and sincerity of heart, full of warm affection."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"PARIS, *April 20th*, 1839.

"It is four months to-day since first I held my Anna in my arms; four glorious months they have been, making me day by day more and more happy, and causing me daily to realize more fully the unspeakable blessing which has fallen to my lot. The love of this young creature is just the very kind which is capable of taking possession of my heart wholly and indivisibly forever. These last few years I had come to think it hardly possible that anyone of my age, after so much and such manifold contact with the world, could be capable of such youthful, such blissful love. I imagined that for this, one needed to be eighteen or twenty. I thought that a little reason, a little calm calculation, would be sure to mingle with one's feelings, and one's choice; that the fire would be less ardent, I will not say less passionate, because passion is worthless. But thank God, I was mistaken. I am not more than eighteen

or twenty in my feelings. Such feelings I have never had before, and could not have had, and I feel they are as fervid, as unalloyed, as they ever could have been in the days of my youth."

The marriage was arranged to take place in July at Erdmannsdorf, Baron von Koenneritz's place in Saxony, and the family left Paris some time beforehand. The parting was very hard to the betrothed couple, although the separation was to be only for a few months, and the wedding day soon drew near. Some affectionate letters are preserved written by Bernstorff to his mother before and after the event.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"ERDMANNSDORF, *June 25th*, 1839.

"Anna's wedding-dress I have already described. I also have provided myself with new garments from top to toe for the occasion, and shall wear quite a plain blue dress coat, and a white waistcoat and cravat. This will best represent my position in the world, as a man who has received no order of distinction, and is almost without means . . . who has, in short, nothing but a name as clean as his white waistcoat, and a strong arm with which to hold and protect his wife. Fortunately my Anna is so simple and unassuming as regards riches and worldly honours, that the happiness of her love leaves her nothing more to desire; but that must needs be, or I should not have dared offer her my hand—bare and empty as it is."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"ERDMANNSDORF, *July 11th*, 1839.

"How are you going to place us at table at Stintenburg, my dearest mamma? We have promised to sit nowhere

but next to one another at home, so pray do not separate us. . . . In society we shall often enough be unable to sit next each other! We shall probably leave here for Töplitz on the 25th, and not return hither, but go through Saxon Switzerland to Dresden, take leave of the father and mother at Lossa, and then go to Düben. Our wedding will be at two o'clock in the church here, which probably will be packed to suffocation, for the whole neighbourhood takes so much interest in the event. At six o'clock in the morning the bells will be rung, and trumpets blown from the tower. There may be several deputations, congratulations, and so on, and there will altogether be a great stir. The servants and villagers are to dance on the green, and afterwards in the outhouse and at the inn. The people are very kind and sympathetic."[1]

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"DRESDEN, *August 9th*, 1839.

"It will be a fortnight to-morrow, from July 27th, that we left Erdmannsdorf, accompanied by the people of the place on horseback for a couple of miles. We did not reach Töplitz till after midnight, where, contrary to our expectation, we found no rooms engaged for us, and had to drive from house to house in the most fearful downpour of rain, to look for some. At last, with difficulty, we succeeded in securing an apartment, whilst the lady's-maid had to pass the night on the stairs, or rather, in the carriage. A nice beginning to married life! However, we were in such good spirits that we only thought it a joke, and the following day we obtained better quarters. The very next morning we met the King[2] out walking. He spoke a few friendly

[1] The wedding took place on July 21st, 1839.

[2] Friedrich Wilhelm III.

words to us and wished us happiness. Then we met Princess Friedrich of the Netherlands, who did the same. In the evening there was a ball, at which the royalties were present, and my Anna won great approval. This, our first appearance together in public, was a great pleasure to us, and if we always are treated in as friendly a way, and always make as good an impression as they told us was the case on that occasion, we may be contented. We danced the first waltz together, which seems to have pleased people very much. I cannot yet accustom myself to the rôle of a husband in society, and would rather be a fiancé all my life, though I really prefer the former rôle all the same.

"The second day we went out walking again, and in the evening had tea with Clary.[1] In the afternoon of both days we took some beautiful drives to Marienschein, Dux, etc. On the third day we started off early . . . where to, do you think? To Prague, where we spent two very enjoyable days. On the way back to Töplitz we ascended the Milischauer, the highest mountain in Bohemia, with a splendid view. In Töplitz we only stayed the night, and then spent three days in Saxon Switzerland, which is far grander than I had imagined. I need not tell you, my dear mamma, how altogether divine it was to take this journey quite alone in the undisturbed society of my sweet, darling wife. It would be impossible to take a nicer journey, and in a more joyous mood. I should like to prolong it for months, for I am feeling just at present how much less one enjoys oneself among one's fellow-men. We arrived here on the 5th, and found Anna's father and mother, brothers and sister here. The day before yester-

[1] Prince Edmund Moritz von Clary, at that time the head of the Austrian family of that name, and hereditary member of the Upper House, and owner of the entailed estate of Teplitz.

day we were presented at Court to an unheard-of crowd of royalties and Royal Highnesses, after first seeing a new play written by Princess Amalia,[1] and performed by herself, Prince John,[2] and other amateurs. Besides the King and Queen and the Saxon Princes, there were present—to wit, at Pillnitz, our Crown Prince and Princess, the Empress Dowager of Austria, the Queen Dowager of Bavaria, the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the Hereditary Duke of Coburg, and so on. To-morrow we drive to the Königstein, after Anna's mother and sister have started for Karlsbad. The day after to-morrow we go by rail to Lossa, to Baron von Koenneritz's estate, where we shall stay one night, from thence going to Düben, and on to Berlin about the 16th."

With this description of the gay life and doings at Pillnitz the wedding tour is brought to a close. In later years Bernstorff would often recall that time, and thank fortune for the rich treasure bestowed on him in his wife. Whatever sad hours might befall him in the course of his life, he had found a faithful companion who henceforth was to remain at his side as his consoling and guardian angel.

After the marriage Bernstorff took his young wife to Stintenburg. Their sojourn there was destined, however, to be a sad one, for just at that time his brother's two sons were carried off by typhus fever within the space of three days. Bernstorff was called away from these gloomy surroundings by being ordered to Naples, where he had to replace the Prussian minister, Herr von Küster, the latter, owing to indisposition, having obtained leave of absence

[1] Amalie, Duchess of Saxony, eldest daughter of Prince Maximilian of Saxony, sister of King Friedrich August II. and of John of Saxony. Dramatic writer. 1794–1870.

[2] Afterwards King of Saxony, brother and successor of Friedrich August II.; born, 1801; ruled, 1854–1873.

for a long period. On March 18th the Bernstorffs started on their journey south, and were enchanted with the first glimpse of Italy, that magic land, whose charms soon took their hearts captive.[1] After the first difficulties of settling down and getting accustomed to the new conditions of life in Naples, they became extremely happy and contented.[2]

We need not here describe in detail Bernstorff's position in Italy; later on, during his second stay in Naples, we shall have occasion to refer more particularly to his relations with the German colony.[3]

His wife's severe illness at this time threatened to bring his happiness to an abrupt termination. He and the physician Zimmermann, who was much attached to him, both nursed her with the greatest devotion and the most implicit reliance on God's help, until after several weeks they succeeded in pulling her through. She was then moved to a villa at Sorrento, situated among the orange and lemon groves, where she completely recovered.

Bernstorff was recalled from Naples after the death of Friedrich Wilhelm III. Many changes had meanwhile been taking place at home, all of which he had followed attentively, taking the keenest interest in the new developments in Prussia, especially where they affected the future of his Fatherland. The taking the oath of allegiance in Berlin,

[1] In Rome he was delighted with the wonderful sight of the illumination of St. Peter's. "The exterior of the whole church, with its magnificent cupola, is lighted up in such a manner that the whole edifice stands out as though built of fire; and we saw the shimmering radiance at a distance of nearly ten miles, the topmost cupola glowing in rosy light, surmounted by the fiery cross." (Letter to his mother, Naples, May 2nd, 1840.)

[2] In Naples they were on especially intimate terms with the Austrian Minister, Lebzeltern, and his wife.

[3] As regards politics, Bernstorff was at Naples during the conflict between the English and Neapolitan Governments over the monopoly in the sulphur trade, the removal of the said monopoly being demanded by England. The dispute was, however, soon settled.

the changes in state affairs, the brilliant and inspired speeches of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. everything had his full consideration. The Eastern Question was for the moment exclusively the topic of the hour, and the European situation had assumed a more peaceable aspect, a fact closely associated with the unusual state of calm then prevailing in Paris. The ministry of M. Thiers, which had literally bristled with formality and red-tape, had now been succeeded by a government credited with a desire of restoring order and re-establishing good relations with foreign cabinets. In London, too, a protocol was on the point of being signed with France, which would put the finishing touch to an agreement between the leading powers upon the Eastern Question."

Although Bernstorff was very graciously received by the King, several annoyances awaited him on his arrival in Berlin. Young Herr von Werther, who stood junior to him in the service, and had succeeded him at the Hague, at Munich, and in Paris, had now been appointed to Switzerland. Bernstorff was greatly pained by this nomination, regarding it almost as a betrayal of friendship, for hitherto the rules of seniority had been strictly observed, and the appointment of Werther was the first deviation from them.[1] He was also disappointed of the prospect of replacing Bunsen for a short time in London, where the latter had been appointed Prussian Minister, "to the surprise of several and the dissatisfaction of many," as the Countess writes.[2]

[1] "Minister von Werther," says the Countess, "had retired from office, desiring three things conditions of his resignation: the Order of the Black Eagle: his full salary: and a post for his son, also, so evil tongues said, a husband for his daughter. The first three wishes were granted, in spite of preliminary opposition from the King."

[2] It was known that the King, who was then on a visit to London, wished on his return to take Bunsen back with him to Berlin for a short time. Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen, the celebrated man of letters and statesman. Born, 1791; died, 1860.

At last, after three months of anxious waiting, Bernstorff received the post of Prussian Chargé d'affaires in Paris, a position of far more importance than the appointment he had held at Naples, and one which laid the foundation of his political career. Shortly after his arrival, the city was plunged into mourning by the death of the young Duke of Orleans, heir to the throne of France, on whom all the hopes of the Royal Family were fixed. He had been on the point of starting for Plombières to join his wife, when his horse took fright, and in springing from the carriage he was killed. The greatest consternation was occasioned in Paris by his death, which was an incalculable loss to the dynasty.

Although Bernstorff had no sympathy with Louis Philippe's principles of government, yet he felt greatly for the Royal Family, whose domestic life was exemplary, and he was especially sorry for the good Queen, Marie Amélie, for whom, as well as for her children, he had a sincere respect.[1]

On 2nd April, 1842, Heinrich von Bülow[2] was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, and at his request, Count Bernstorff undertook the post of Councillor to the Ministry.[3] To the duties of his new office he applied himself with zeal, though his sphere of action was necessarily a somewhat

[1] Countess von Bernstorff's "Reminiscences." For Queen Marie Amélie, second daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples, the Countess cherished all her life the greatest love and reverence.

[2] Baron Heinrich von Bülow, born 1892, died 1846, married Gabriele, youngest daughter of Wilhelm von Humboldt. He was Minister in London from 1827 till 1841, where he was most influential and active. In 1841 he became Minister to the Federal Diet at Frankfort a/M. Cf. Gabriele von Bülow, 12th ed., Mittler und Sohn, Berlin.

[3] Bernstorff had hoped to get the post at Constantinople, which the Minister Maltzan had in view for him. At the last moment, however, the appointment was given to Le Coq, with whom Bülow disagreed on many points, and whom he therefore wished to send to a distance.

restricted one. "It is a sufficiently significant fact," writes the Countess, "that the Minister, Herr von Bülow, never allowed any official work to be published before Bernstorff had set his 'B' under it." The latter found his duties very arduous, but when once he had grown accustomed to them, and had settled down to the work, it proved very engrossing, and he afterwards spoke of those three years in the Ministry at Berlin as of the utmost educative value, and recalled them with satisfaction.

It is inexplicable why Bernstorff should have had so many enemies, as, in some of his letters, he says he has. It could only have been because he was not a Prussian by birth, and probably had aroused envy by his brilliant début.[1] His uncle Christian was dead, and his relations, so many of whom had lived in Berlin, had now left the town. Therefore when he quitted Berlin there was no one in official life to stand up for him, and those who were jealous of him, had free play. In Herr von Werther's coterie especially, did they seek to detract from Bernstorff's merits, wishing to justify the fact of young Werther being preferred before him. The hostility displayed cannot be explained on any other grounds than these, for he was extremely kind, always ready to help others, and very punctilious in the performance of his official duties; indeed, he was almost painfully conscientious in fulfilling them. There was, perhaps, something cold and severe in his outward appearance, but this impression was entirely dispelled upon nearer acquaintance. Notwithstanding his devotion to duty, and the confidence reposed in him by Herr von Bülow, the intrigues against him continued. He held his own, however, and on June 26th, 1843, he was promoted to be Geheimer Legationsrat, which office he retained for three

[1] As he wrote later:—"When the 'Kreuzzeitung' wants to have a fling at me, it always calls me the 'Schleswig-Holsteiner.'"

years. He had never given his adversaries any real handle to lay hold of against him, so that later on, when there was a question of his being transferred to a new post, they had recourse to shameful lies."

With a view of living quietly and moderately, Bernstorff hired a little residence in the Leipziger Platz,[1] where he had a few intimate friends to see him now and then. The society in Berlin was very agreeable, the circle small, being exclusive and harmonious. The Foreign Ministers, of whom the greater number had been accredited there for many years, lived on the most friendly terms with the best families in the town, into which several of them had married. Henriette Sonntag,[2] Countess Rossi, was a great ornament to society. Her husband was the Sardinian Envoy. These two persons gathered about them a small, but highly intellectual circle of friends, whom the Countess would enchant with her perfect singing. Bernstorff would occasionally go with his wife to the Court functions, which were very brilliant affairs. He took part, for instance, in a fancy-dress ball which was got up in the style of a court merry-making in Ferrara; he going as King Oberto, and his wife as the fairy Logistella in a charming costume she had made herself. So many festivities of the kind were given in those days at the palace, that some of the clergy, among others, Gossner and Arndt, inveighed against them from the pulpit, denouncing them as "devilish mummeries." Unfortunately Bernstorff could not take any real pleasure in these entertainments, because the Countess was very often in bad health. They had not as yet been blessed with children, and Bernstorff's brother had only daughters, both

[1] Countess von Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

[2] The celebrated opera singer, born at Coblentz in 1806 and died in Mexico in 1854. She had retired from the stage on her marriage, and only returned to it in later years.—Tr.

his sons being dead, so that the family lacked male successors. But at last his dearest wishes were to be fulfilled. On May 20th, 1844, to his indescribable joy, a son was born to him. "We are going to call him Andreas Petrus," he writes to his mother on May 21st. "May God's blessing rest upon him, and may he grow up in the spirit of his forefathers, a true Bernstorff, and what is more, a true Christian."[1]

In May of the same year, Bernstorff was recommended by Bülow as Minister to Munich, and the King forthwith appointed him to the post. But Bülow, who was just then in an inexplicably irritable mood, ordered him without any valid reason to postpone his departure, and this might have prevented him from taking up his duties for a long while, had not Bülow, who had gone to Kissingen for his health, been attacked by a mental malady with which he had long been threatened.

A remarkable letter[2] written soon after Bülow's death in 1846, was addressed to Countess Bernstorff by the Princess of Prussia. The close acquaintance of the Countess with the Princess had come about during a visit to Homburg for a course of baths in 1845. The Princess had received her very kindly, and was much taken with her freshness and intelligence, and their intimacy had been kept up. "You are sufficiently acquainted with me," says the Princess, in her letter of April 28th, 1846, "to know that I am a sincere person. You will therefore believe me when I assure you that your last letter but one was one of the most feeling, best written, and most interesting I had re-

[1] Bernstorff to his mother, Berlin, September 29th, 1844: "If only you could see him, the baby, for a moment being taken for a walk in front of the house in his little white coat and hat, and beaming at us with his pretty blue eyes and his rosy face." The boy also received the name of Albrecht, at the Countess's desire, and which was given to all the sons.

[2] See Appendix.

ceived for a long time." She then goes on to speak of the freshness of the Countess's sentiments, and the justness and objectivity of her criticisms on literary subjects. "Believe me, these are great advantages to a woman who, like yourself, is called to dispense domestic happiness, and to play an important part in the world. Mind without heart, or heart without mind, cannot respond to these claims; it is only a charming combination of the two which is equal to coping with all the demands your position in life may make on you."

After the appointment of Canitz[1] as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bernstorff was, at the beginning of 1845, at length able to set out for Munich with his wife and child, who was only fifteen months old. His enemies had shortly before attempted to prove him unfitted for the post on account of what was alleged to be the extreme Evangelical tendency of his views. According to the Neapolitan Minister, Baron Antonini, he had spoken of the Holy Coat of Treves as "ce lambeau de guenilles." The consequence of all these intrigues was, that he was preceded by a reputation for having a hatred of Roman Catholics, "a reputation which won him an irritable speech from the King of Bavaria at his first audience. The King during this audience, and while in course of conversation, let fall the paper of credentials which the new Minister had delivered to him. This he did three times. The first time it appeared unintentional, and Bernstorff picked the paper up, but after that he let it lie so that the King had to stoop for it himself. But it was just by doing this that he impressed the King, and henceforward his position at Munich became a highly satisfactory one."[2]

[1] Karl Ernst Wilhelm, Baron von Canitz and Dallwitz, Prussian general and statesman. Born 1787, died 1850. After the death of Heinrich von Bülow he was Minister for Foreign Affairs (1845). On March 17th, 1848, he had, with other members of the Bodelschwingh Ministry, sent in his resignation.

[2] Countess von Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

This was the more noteworthy because his predecessor, Count Dönhoff, a high-principled and unprejudiced man, had suffered severely from the attacks of the Ultramontanes. Dönhoff was represented by that party as being a champion of the Evangelical faith in Bavaria, and was charged with party spirit, an accusation emanating from those members of the Prussian Government who, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Köln, had openly stirred up opposition. "King Ludwig," writes Heinrich von Treitschke, "wanted to play the rôle of a second Elector Max, and therefore kept scenting out Protestant intrigues everywhere."

When Count Dönhoff was transferred to the Federal Diet, and Bernstorff was installed in his place at the Bavarian capital, the King gave vent to bitter complaints against the former Minister and his party policy.[1] Bernstorff replied verbally and by writing, that he should never mix himself up with any party in Bavaria, but at the same time he made it clear that he did not intend to repel the advances of his co-religionists, that he could not disavow the political and religious sympathies of his Government, and should, therefore, always ward off any violent attacks upon Evangelical interests.[2] "King Friedrich Wilhelm," says Treitschke, on reading Bernstorff's despatch, remarked:[3] "He has spoken as becomes a nobleman and an Envoy of Prussia." The news created a great sensation in Berlin. Geheimer Hofrat Weymann, a member of the Ministry, writing to Bernstorff, says:[4] "If only you could have seen the general elation caused by your despatch! Never was anything like it, and I sincerely rejoice that such an opportunity should have been offered to one whose head and heart

[1] Countess von Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

[2] Dönhoff's Reports of January 20th, and February 2nd, 1842.

[3] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King, October 31st, 1845.

[4] Geheimer Hofrat Weymann to Bernstorff. Private letter, dated March 13th, 1845.

are so thoroughly in the right place." Schleinitz also sent his congratulations, saying :[1] "If the young school of diplomatists continues to give such good proof of itself, then a new dawn will break upon our diplomacy, a dawn which every friend of Prussia and of Germany will hail with delight." Bernstorff having a serious aim in view, was careful to observe a discreet policy towards the King of Bavaria, and with such marked success, that on his return to Berlin in 1846, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. said to him: "That I should be pleased with you is natural, but that my brother-in-law should also be pleased, shows that you have made a wise beginning."

The period of Bernstorff's residence in Munich, 1846–8, was a very disturbed one. The Abel Ministry was dominating the country in the name of the Bavarian Ultramontane party; and was regarded by the whole civilized world as one of the greatest abuses of the day. The fall of the Cabinet was at last brought about by the scandalous episode of Lola Montez, the beautiful ballet-dancer, who was known to have complete control over the King, and who in course of time had come more and more into opposition with the Ultramontanes. "Herr von Abel," writes Treitschke, "took advantage of the opportunity to pose as a champion of manners and morals, and made the 'convenances' an excuse for resigning what had long been a dangerous post. Bernstorff regarded the resignation of the Ministry in itself as a most fortunate thing for Bavaria, and he wrote at once to Berlin saying that it was not merely the question of an episode, but of a complete change of system. There were side issues, however, which he could not but consider as highly deplorable. The Monarchy, for example, had sustained a severe blow, for

[1] Count von Schleinitz, at that time legal adviser to the Foreign Office, to Bernstorff, Berlin, November 12th, 1846. Private letter.

there was no doubt, as he said, that it had met with a moral defeat. The "Revolution" also revealed a most serious state of public affairs. The prime movers in the revolt turned out, as Bernstorff imagined, to be paid hirelings of individual Ministers. One of the latter had confidently foretold the outbreak of the disturbances some days beforehand. So that the revolutionary party in Germany was actually aided and abetted by the representative of a German Government. Viewed from a higher standpoint the situation, nevertheless, presented certain advantages, as it was apparent that the most formidable enemy of Protestantism, culture and education, had been knocked on the head for a long time to come.

King Ludwig now began to favour the Liberals, and von Maurer, the President, who as a Protestant was doubly detested by the Ultramontanes, went to Bernstorff with a message from the King to say that "the domination of the Jesuits in Bavaria was at an end."[1] At the same time he begged the Count to give the Prussian Government a favourable pronouncement upon the recent events. Bernstorff immediately replied that his opinions were not yet made up, as he did not know all the details. But, in any case, he could not approve the last step of the Abel Ministry in having tried to impose its will upon the King. He and others of his diplomatic colleagues, so he firmly declared, were determined to defend the King should he be threatened at any time, in consequence of what had occurred; and they meant to urge their views on the attention of their respective Governments. Thus did this Prussian Envoy, who had been so suspiciously regarded by the Court, raise his shield as champion of the Sovereign of Bavaria.

Meanwhile Bernstorff was reproached in some quarters

[1] Bernstorff's official report to the King, February 16th, 1847.

for not having made use of the favourable opportunity of the moment to establish Prussia's diplomatic supremacy in Bavaria. This reproach, however, was wholly unfounded. The Prussian Minister had not yet been able to elaborate a bold course of action, knowing full well that it was not his King's custom "to forget moral considerations in the face of political ones." Besides, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. detested the liberal ideas prevailing in Bavaria almost as much as he did the views of the Ultramontane party.

Bernstorff and his wife found life in Munich very congenial from a social point of view. They attended festivities and balls in the higher official circles and among the aristocracy, and were everywhere received in the most friendly manner. "The finest balls," Bernstorff tells his mother in February, 1845, "are those at the Duchess Leuchtenberg's, where we were yesterday. To-day the Minister for Foreign Affairs is giving a dance, and this week, too, there is an artists' ball, at which artists are to appear in costume designed by themselves; then there is a students' ball, to which the Court and Diplomatic body are invited, so I hear; and last of all we have a fancy-dress dance at Duke Max's. We are going in dominoes. . . . There are also the 'Academies,' as they are called, and an Odeon, at which we appear in domino, with hats on and play Boston with the Queen, and all sorts of other odd entertainments. The winter is interesting besides this, on account of the Diet being assembled. We often spend the evening with the Giechs, where people of all shades of opinion are met. . . . Beust[1] does not like leaving, but Hohenthal, who takes his place, is also very pleasant. We meet a good many clergy, artists, and men of letters."

The climate suited Bernstorff better than he expected,

[1] Count von Beust, afterwards the well-known Saxon Minister President and chief adversary of Prussia, was then Saxon Minister in Munich.

it having at first been a consideration to him whether he should go to Munich at all, because he had become so susceptible to colds. The Countess, however, was constantly ill in Munich. Even before they left Berlin she had had a violent attack of fever, and in one of his letters to his mother he says that she had had such a dreadful attack of suffering that she feared another one must kill her, and she took leave of her husband. In the spring of 1846 this pain returned with such violence that the Countess, by the advice of her physician, went to Franzenbad. Being anxious about her, her husband followed her a few days later. During their absence the house in Munich was broken into, and a large number of the Countess's diamonds, together with money, rings, and all the Count's orders and clothes, were taken. The thieves were their own servants, and they fled to Switzerland, intending to go from thence by a roundabout route to America. The valet passed himself off as a Count Seefeld, and, decorated with Bernstorff's orders, posed as a gentleman. The culprits, who sold the diamonds and the Chamberlain's key for 1500 guldens, were eventually caught, but only a portion of the lost property could be recovered.

The above incident is alluded to in the Countess's "Reminiscences." She was suffering at the moment from a sense of impending misfortune, and she relates how terribly hard it was parting from her husband, and how, directly she got to Franzenbad, she wanted to return. When, to her delight, her husband suddenly decided to follow her, her agitation subsided, and she received the news of the robbery with the greatest composure. "When I heard the tidings, which were broken to me most gently, I only felt an intense relief and joy, my sole regret being that the Queen, my husband, and my friends should, in their kindness and affection, have kept the matter from me so long; for since

my husband and child were well, all else was indifferent to me.

"I must add, with regard to my stay at Franzenbad, a grateful mention of the excellent Queen of Bavaria,[1] who received me in the most affectionate, motherly, and touching way. I dined with her every day; she took me out driving daily, and I was the especial object of her solicitude. If it rained in the morning, she would send her carriage for me, and she also offered it to me that I might accompany my husband back again when he had come to look after me. When I told her that my husband did not wish me to go with him so that I might not have to drive back alone, she said: 'But, my dear Countess, how could you suppose I should have let you drive back alone? I should have driven after you so as to take charge of you on the way back.'"

King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. partly indemnified the Count for what he had lost, in an extremely charming way, by sending the Countess a magnificent brooch with a fine emerald set in diamonds; he also contributed a considerable sum towards restoring their household to its former condition. In September, on his way south, he had broken his journey at the Legation at Munich, and had spent many pleasant hours with the Bernstorffs, who had exerted themselves to make their sovereign's stay as pleasant as possible. He contrived in the most delicate way that his present should convey his thanks for the hospitality they had shown him. The archly humorous letter which accompanied his gift can only be understood by taking account of the following circumstances. "In Bavarian Court circles," writes the Countess, "there had long been talk as to whether King Ludwig would so far presume on the kindness and indulgence of the Queen of Prussia as to bring Lola Montez to

[1] Therese, a princess of Sachsen-Hildburghhausen; died 1854.

Court during Her Majesty's stay in Munich. The ballet-dancer had been raised to the rank of Countess von Landsfeld, and decorated with the Therese Order. Bernstorff was very much perturbed at this prospect, which seemed to him an insult to the Prussian royalties, and he expressed his displeasure on the subject to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. himself when the latter visited Munich. It is to these sentiments on the part of his Minister that the King alludes in the following whimsically expressed letter. The first page was couched in terms which could refer only to Lola Montez.

King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Count Bernstorff.

"SANSSOUCI, *October 26th*, 1847.

"I charge you, my dear Count, with a commission, the performance of which demands a certain amount of that delicacy which I recognise in you. The commission exceeds the received limits of what is purely diplomatic in character. It certainly does not appertain to that class of commissions whose fulfilment belongs to the direct obligations you, dear Count, have taken upon yourself to perform by your act of allegiance. If, therefore, you refuse to execute it, I shall not resent it as a dereliction of duty, though none the less, I shall regret extremely your too great scrupulosity, and shall bitterly revile you in my heart. To come to the point! It is a question of conveying a so-called jewel *to a lady.* This jewel is of slight value. But the lady's favour, from reasons you will be well able to explain, is of very high value to me indeed. Now, everything depends on the manner of the presentation, which should be sufficiently flattering to enhance the worthiness of the gift and to cause its *un*worthiness to be forgotten. My acquaintance *with the lady* and my respect for her must be adroitly set forth and made the most of, as must also be my hopes of re-

membrance at her hands. You will, of course, at once divine that I am speaking of Donna Maria de Doloris de los Montez, Countess von Landsfeld. And you will not be quite pleased at this.[1] I do feel for you, my dear Count. But take courage! Cheer up, for you are mistaken. My commission will not give you the trouble of even crossing Brienner strasse. You can, yes, you must, execute it at home, for it concerns Countess von Bernstorff, your wife. I crave her indulgence in the acceptance of this little gift, as a souvenir of my gratitude for the pleasant hours passed under your hospitable roof last month. I am very well aware that I gave you both a great deal of trouble and inconvenience, which you bore with the greatest amiability. And I feel that I did not thank either of you as much as you deserved. I hope, therefore, you will regard my gift as an amends for the inadequate expression of my good intentions and gratitude. It will be a real consolation to me if the Countess will kindly accept it. Now you will undertake this commission on my behalf, will you not, my dear Count, as one of the duties to the fulfilment of which you are pledged? Once more heartily thanking you, I kiss the Countess's hand. With kindest regards,

"FRIEDRICH WILHELM."

Bernstorff was much pleased, as he tells his mother, at the way in which the gift was bestowed. His wife was now fairly strong again, and new joy and happiness seemed about to revisit their home. They mixed much in society, and the Count made several interesting acquaintances. "The day after to-morrow," he writes to his mother, at the beginning of November, 1847, "we give a large state dinner, at which the brooch will be inaugurated. . . . Several

[1] Here begins the second page of the letter. The King's joke was that the Count would not get over his fright until he turned the page.

weeks ago we had another great dinner, for our old friends from Naples, the Lebzelterns, whom we were delighted to see on their way through Munich. I had just got back from a shooting party of three days among the mountains, where some people named Krailsheim have an old castle dating from the middle ages; the towers have been, I am sorry to say, destroyed, otherwise, everything remains just as it was, down even to the lack of comfort, and the simplicity of customs. Two Roman Catholic priests always dined with us, and went shooting, one of them being a good shot. After dinner we sat with the ladies in our host's study, and smoked till you could have cut the fumes with a knife. Every one, whether he would or no, had to have a bumper of ale before him. There was no mention of coffee or tea, and we only had wine at dinner as a special luxury. They told ghost stories, of which there were a good many, every room being haunted. The ghost of a Capuchin friar was said to frequent my room at night, but I did not see him, probably because I slept too well after shooting. A dress coat was an article of luxury to which they were not accustomed in this place. Baron von Krailsheim comes of a very good, old Franconian family, Protestant, so does his mother, a Countess Lamberg by birth, who was also there, and his wife, the daughter of Count Luxburg at Paris, where she was brought up, her father being Minister there. She has been married to the Count rather less than a year. She must find it strange here. I was often struck by the contrast between life in Mecklenburg and these shooting dinners."

This description sounds like an Eckehard idyll, in the midst of the political agitations of the day.

At the beginning of 1848, the catastrophe which had already been deferred by the convoking of the Maurer Ministry broke over the entire Lola Montez clique. The

so-called Lola Ministry, which had seized the reins of Government on the retirement of Maurer on December 1st, not being able to protect her from the rage of the people, she had to escape by flight from the fury of the populace. Unfortunately for his country, King Ludwig, after quietly hoping for a time that his mistress would return, abdicated.

The news of the revolution in Prussia, and the outbreak of fresh disaffection in Bavaria, served to accelerate his decision.

Bernstorff's days in the fair city on the Isar were now numbered. Strongly affected as he had been by the disturbances of the period, he was yet to become acquainted with them in a direr and more alarming form at one of the focus-points of European vitality. Munich had been to him a place of apprenticeship; it was in Vienna that he was to graduate as a master in diplomacy.

CHAPTER III

THE YEAR 1848

Prussia and Germany before the Revolution—The movement in South Germany —The Terror in Berlin—The March Ministry—The National Assembly at S. Paul's Church—Bernstorff goes to Vienna—Flight of the Emperor Ferdinand—Horrors of the Vienna Revolution—Count and Countess Bernstorff go to Linz—Birth of a daughter—Revolution in Hungary and Insurrection in Prussia—Radetzky's victories in Italy—Archduke John as Imperial Administrator—Bernstorff's plans for State Reform—His attitude towards the National Assembly, and on the Danish question—Return of the Imperial Court to Vienna—The Revolution in Hungary—The Malmö armistice—Friedrich Wilhelm IV. and his Ministers—His proposals with regard to State Reform—The first struggles with Schwarzenberg—Bernstorff's private affairs.

THE fortunes of countries and of states are prone to successive periods of ebb and flux, and the entrance to one such period in Prussia was marked by the death of Friedrich Wilhelm III. After this event a decline in national prosperity was clearly discernible, and this continued from year to year, until low-water mark was reached about the end of 1850, when an upward movement once more set in. It was the irony of fate that Bernstorff, with his proud conceptions of the power and grandeur of the Prussian commonwealth, should have been destined to carry out a considerable part of his political work during these gloomy years. Nevertheless, like a brave soldier, he stood undaunted at his post, and though he was regarded in certain Berlin circles as not really a Prussian, he did more honour to the name of Prussia than

many of his colleagues who were native born. Heinrich von Treitschke is scathing in his criticism of some Prussian diplomats of that date, whom he accuses of identifying themselves with the countries to which they were accredited, instead of proudly unfurling the banner of their own state. The February Revolution in France, with its rapid success, started the revolutionary movement in Germany, which broke out everywhere with such frantic rapidity that the governing classes were wellnigh powerless in face of the insurrection. The whole of South Germany was soon in revolt, and in many districts there seemed to be a return of the old days when the peasants were wont to sit in brutal judgment on the nobles and to set the "red cock" aflare upon their castles. One of Bernstorff's letters at this time shows what he felt with regard to these terrible events.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"MUNICH, *March 20th*, 1848.

". . . . These are fearful times. . . . In South Germany there is a sort of peasants' war, and blackened bands of robbers are marching from castle to castle. May God protect us from such a condition of things in the north; but anyway, the movement is one which demands the greatest caution, and I do feel it terribly hard not to be at home just now. We must avoid all conflict and must meet every equitable demand. The Constitutions of Lauenburg and Mecklenburg will hardly survive this crisis, and *I should be the first to advise reasonable changes being made before they are extorted by violence, but I specially dread the one-sided obstinacy of the Mecklenburg nobles.* Fearful as this crisis is, yet I believe and hope it may conduce to the amelioration of the general state of affairs in Germany. The fate of our Fatherland lies chiefly in the King's hands.

May God enlighten his heart. We all have enormous responsibility in these days, and I myself occupy a difficult post. We have passed through some horrible moments here, moments when we had to confront imminent danger: of murder, conflagration, and pillage. All this sort of thing continues more or less. It requires the fullest confidence in God's mercy for us not to succumb under the burden of our anxiety, but we try to cast all our cares upon Him and not to despair. It is more than ever necessary not to lose one's head."

From the above letter it will be evident that Count Bernstorff was well disposed towards many questions of reform in matters both of internal and foreign policy. Needless to say, he had nothing in common with those autocratic politicians, who by their summary rejection of all the new ideas drove many honest Liberal Nationalists into the arms of the Radical party. Rather did he hope that despite all the confusion of the time, the salvation of Germany might now be effected by Prussia.

Even the news that an insurrection had begun in Vienna did not shake Bernstorff's confidence, for Prussia still stood firm, as he said, like a "rocher de bronze." This being the case, the tidings of the revolutionary outbreak in Berlin came to him as a great shock. Nowhere among the politicians of the day could he find any firmness or stability, and he was bitterly disappointed in the March Ministry. He was also particularly mistrustful of the capabilities of his new chief, Heinrich von Arnim, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, believing him incompetent to steer the ship of state amid the perilous rocks of political life.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"MUNICH, *April 4th*, 1848.

". . . . You say you cannot understand how it was that on March 20th I had not yet heard of the occurrences in Berlin. But how could I, as they did not begin till the 18th, and the post takes three days to get here? I heard the most dreadful news on my birthday, and I have never been in such an appalling state of anxiety and distress as I was on that day. *I pass over in silence what I have suffered in my heart as a German and a Prussian, and what I still suffer daily.* If God had only given the King the courage to persist in the course of action forced on him by the exigencies of the moment, things would be better now, for there was no doubt as to the success of the troops. Still better though would it have been to have long ago tried to avoid this unhappy struggle altogether. If the advice had been followed, it perhaps could have been avoided, though not for certain, because the revolutionary party were bent on fighting at any price, and after all their demands had been acceded to, they really dragged forward the most scandalously poor pretexts for doing so. However, since God has willed it thus, we must believe and hope it will lead to better things, but a fearful judgment has fallen upon princes and people. You ask what I am going to do. I shall remain in office unless I am dismissed, and as long as I can do so honourably. I have long expressed myself most decidedly in favour of the new opinions, for I hold them to be an opportunity offered us by the times, and if my views had found a hearing we should stand very differently at the present moment. In particular, I have always had, I may say from childhood, an almost passionate desire for the regeneration of Germany, and for her consolidation into a

stronger and more united power, and I should esteem no sacrifice too great if it were really successful in attaining this object. Therefore it will ever be my most ardent wish and sincerest happiness to labour towards this end. The people who have plunged us into misfortune have got their share of it. I have always censured their policy."

Bernstorff had for a long while been unremitting in his appeals to the government at home, exhorting the Berlin Cabinet to prevent the revolution by a system of national reform, which might be attempted immediately by popular action in the sphere of foreign policy. But it was hardly likely that the Berlin politicians would be moved to take such steps after their recent behaviour in the matter of Neuchâtel[1]—a piece of Prussian territory which was occupied during peace time by the Swiss Republican party, while they quietly looked on. In those days, when even feeble Denmark, relying on the support of other powers, ventured to take the high hand wherever Germany was concerned, it really seemed as if Prussia were no longer capable of inspiring awe.

[1] After having been a dependency of the French Crown for nearly two centuries, Neuchâtel passed, on the death of the last Longueville ruler, to Prussia, and held the anomalous position of belonging to the Swiss Republic while continuing to be a German principality. Party feeling was strong in local affairs. The Royalists sent a deputation to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. in 1851, who promised his adherents his assistance. The next year he brought the subject before the Powers assembled then in London, which encouraged the Royalists to make demonstrations. Their Republican opponents organized a counter demonstration on a far larger scale. Affairs remained in a quiescent state until 1856, when a serious rising took place.—Tr.

"A rising professedly in defence of the hereditary interest of the King of Prussia took place in the Canton of Neuchâtel, but was suppressed, and some of the insurgents taken prisoners by the Republican Government. The King of Prussia virtually expressed his disapproval of the movement by claiming the liberation of the prisoners, and his action was, to some extent, countenanced by the French Emperor. The matter was finally adjusted in 1857."—By permission of the editors of "Queen Victoria's Letters," vol. iii., p. 272.—Tr.

The Prussian Government being now occupied with ideas of reform, Bernstorff could not fail to appear to the Ministry as the right man to undertake so important a post as that of Prussian Minister in Vienna. Of the ministerial discussions which took place relative to this matter Bernstorff leaves no records or notes. Thus we do not know whose advice was in the main responsible for his being sent to Vienna. Suffice to say, he one day received instructions to start as soon as possible for Vienna, there to take up office.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"MUNICH, *April 30th*, 1848.

"I have been transferred to Vienna, and in order that Anna may be able to travel, we must start within a fortnight. We have only two short days' journey to Passau, and from thence two and a half days by steamboat to Vienna. The worst part will be the arrival and first days there. Meanwhile we must adapt ourselves willingly and gratefully to circumstances, and leave the rest to God. In a time like the present, when I do not know whether my whole career might not have been brought to an end, *it is a pleasant surprise to be appointed to what will, perhaps, be the most important post.* It is a difficult position, but I am accepting it, by God's grace, with a good courage. From letters I have received, many people seem to think I can be of no further service. I am decidedly of the opposite opinion; I think I can help both myself and others. In a time such as this, it is doubly needful for those who are well disposed not to draw back and leave the control to others. On the contrary, I consider it the duty of everyone, who has the power, to devote himself to the monarchy, the Fatherland and the good cause, so as to save what can yet be preserved.

"The bad cause I cannot and will not ever serve. I could never, in good days, conceal my opinions, and I never will do so in evil days. My resolution and independence, which, by God's help, I shall ever maintain, have won for me the respect and confidence of the Government, and therefore they have chosen me for this post. What we are at present very much exercised about, is how to solve the difficulties of our move, and our household arrangements. We do not yet know what we shall do with our belongings, for in these days, no one will buy the slightest thing."

Bernstorff, as he hastened to Vienna with his wife, did not dream that affairs there were approaching a state of chaos. The Pillersdorff Ministry had proved itself too weak to cope with the revolutionary element, either in the capital or in the empire. Lombardy and Venice had already revolted, Hungary was in a state of ferment, and the Slavs were everywhere inclined to rebellion. The adherents of the old Ministry, among whom the Archduchess Sophie exercised the greatest influence, finally came to the conclusion that a flight on the part of the weak-minded Emperor Ferdinand[1] was the only means of escape from the terrorism of the Vienna revolutionaries. They wished to leave the capital to itself, and placed complete confidence in Radetzky's army in Italy. On May 17th, the Emperor's flight was accomplished under the pretext of taking a drive. He was conducted to Innsbruck. Bernstorff arrived in Vienna during the days immediately following this event. The best information regarding his first experiences is given in the following records from his own hand.

[1] Ferdinand I., born in Vienna, 1793, Kaiser of Austria; married Maria Anna, third daughter of Victor Emanuel I. of Sardinia. Reigned from March 2nd, 1835, to December 2nd, 1848.

My Three Years' Mission in Vienna.[1]

From May, 1848, to May, 1851. Begun at Bad Homburg, 1851.

"My one satisfaction now, on looking back over the difficulties of this period of my political life, lies in my own sense of having faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled my duty, and of having received the recognition of such of my contemporaries as shared my views. And I value before all things the good opinion of those, to whom I desire and hope to leave a clean and untarnished name.

"On May 6th, 1848, in Munich, where I had been Prussian Minister since 1845, I received my appointment to the Court of Austria in the same capacity, with instructions to start for my new post as quickly as might be. After breaking up our establishment with all possible despatch, as far, that is, as was possible under the circumstances, we left Munich on May 16th, to begin our journey to Vienna. We had then one boy of four years old, and my wife was expecting to be confined again in a few weeks' time. The physicians in Munich would not consent to her taking the journey to Vienna. But she did not wish to part from me, and I was just as unwilling to leave her behind in Munich, as it was apparently unlikely I should be able to get back to her in time. Besides, the condition of affairs at the time was such that one could not reckon upon war or revolution not spreading to Munich, as it had done to other parts of Germany and Europe, in which case we might perhaps have to endure a long and painful separation. We, therefore, both fully agreed upon disregarding the advice of the doctors to the contrary, and decided to set out on the

[1] Bernstorff had originally wished to write a complete account of his experiences during the time of his Mission in Vienna. He however, never completed them.

journey together. But in order to do it as comfortably and carefully for my wife as possible, we resolved to take Dr. Hoffmann with us as far as Vienna. So we drove in our own carriage, an extremely comfortable calesche for my wife, with our own horses, reaching Straubing in two short days' journey, where we embarked on the steamboat from Regensburg and went down the Danube as far as Linz.

"The first thing we heard when we set foot on Austrian territory on May 18th, was the highly disquieting intelligence that the Emperor, who had fled on the 17th from Vienna, had just driven through Klein-München, half an hour's distance from Linz, and had continued his flight towards Innsbruck. The fear of his enemies' pursuit was so great that the military commandant of Upper Austria, Field-Marshal Count Ladislaus Wrbna, had given orders to his troops to occupy the bridge over the Enns, which the Emperor had crossed, to defend it stubbornly, and, in case they should be unable to hold it against superior strength, to destroy it. Such was our reception in Austria. The omens for our sojourn in the country were not alluring. Instead of reaching the end of our troublesome journey on the next day, as we had hoped, and instead of the repose we were longing for, and of which my wife had such pressing need, the flight of the Emperor from Vienna at once revealed to us what was the condition of the country in which we were to take up our abode. It showed us, too, how far there was any prospect of peace and comfort for ourselves, and the sort of political events of which we should be witnesses. This was all so clearly apparent to us that we could scarcely sleep all that night at The Archduke Carl, in Linz.

"We debated in great excitement as to whether we should continue our journey, or in what direction we

should turn our steps. Were the Emperor of Austria entirely to abandon his states, then my Mission would fall through altogether. But should he take up his abode in Innsbruck permanently, or for a long period, the diplomatic corps would have to follow him thither, and I could neither begin my functions in Vienna without having delivered my credentials to the Emperor, nor, of course, could I exercise them there if the permanent seat of the Emperor (and consequently of his Government) was to be established elsewhere. But should this not be the case, should the Emperor's absence be merely temporary, and he not wish to allow the diplomatic body to follow him, then Vienna remained my destination, and I should have to wait there till I knew when and where the Emperor wished to receive my credentials from my hands. Anyway, I could not follow him without some nearer information and preliminary inquiry on my part, or a summons from the Austrian Court. Besides this, the reports as to the cause and object of the Emperor's departure, or rather, flight, from Vienna were so vague and unreliable that one could build no conclusions upon them. Lastly, my wife's condition was such that a journey to Innsbruck had already become an impossibility, and we therefore had scarcely any choice left us. Either we must go on to Vienna, or else stay in Linz and await further developments, or we must go up the Danube again, leave Austrian territory and try to find a suitable place in Bavaria for my wife's confinement. The latter course I could not adopt without first making inquiries in Berlin and obtaining the permission of my Government. It was not possible for my wife in her condition to stay on indefinitely at an inn in Linz. We therefore resolved to continue our journey the next morning, and on the afternoon of May 19th, we reached Nussdorf, near Vienna. At almost every halting-

place we kept receiving more disquieting rumours as to the state of things in Vienna. About half-way there, at the convent of Mölk, the wife of my uncle, Baron Wilhelm von Hammerstein, the General in command at Lemberg, came on board the steamboat, having learnt that we were expected in Vienna that day. She was staying at her place, Albrechtsberg, near Mölk, and she besought me to leave my wife and little boy with her. Vienna was said to be in a complete state of revolution, a fearful amount of bloodshed having taken place, and the Emperor having fled. Under the circumstances already mentioned, I could not accept this kind offer, for it involved too many difficulties, and also it would have made me too anxious to have my wife parted from me and left in the country to meet her confinement without adequate medical aid. So we thanked our aunt warmly for her kindness, and continued our journey, in order to see for ourselves what was the state of affairs in Vienna.

"On the steamboat I made the acquaintance of Meszharos, the Hungarian Minister for War, who soon afterwards acquired a melancholy celebrity. He had hitherto been colonel of a Hussar regiment in Italy, and was now on his way to take up his new position, with visible reluctance and a heavy heart. He had at first refused to accept the post, but had been expressly ordered to undertake it in various notes from the Emperor. He spoke in laudatory terms of the spirit of the Italian army, at that time under the command of Field-Marshal Count Radetzky. He had been very loath to leave it, and he told me, as an especially noteworthy and encouraging fact, that in its ranks all differences of nationality were lost and that the whole army was animated with the one idea of holding closely together, and forming an inseparable Austrian force. Later on, owing to the course

of events, and also probably in a great measure to the selfish policy of the Imperial Court and Government with regard to his country, this same man, like many others of his compatriots who had originally been faithful and loyal subjects, was driven to become one of the most zealous partisans of the Hungarian Revolution. In his official position he helped on the whole war with Austria, and voted with Kossuth and his associates for the deposition of the Imperial Family. After the annihilation of the insurgents by Russia and Austria, he, with those most seriously compromised, was forced to seek refuge in Turkey, where he has since been imprisoned. I think I have heard that just recently he has appeared before an Austrian court-martial, to be 'purified' as it is technically termed there. Whether the verdict went against him, and what his sentence was, I do not know.

"On arriving at Nussdorf we were received by Hofrat Weymann, of the Prussian Legation. He gave us a most reassuring account of the state of affairs in Vienna, saying that the Emperor's departure had made a salutary impression on the people, since it had opened their eyes to the consequences of their conduct hitherto, and showed them whither a longer continuance of a state of revolution might lead. The mood of the moment was inclined to repentance, and if proper advantage were taken of it a better condition of things might easily be brought about. We drove into the town feeling consoled, and put up at the Erzherzog Karl, in the Kärnthner strasse, where quarters had been engaged for us. It will be seen presently what unskilful use was made of the feelings then prevalent in the city. With regard to the Emperor's departure, or flight, for such it really was, it may be remarked that it had come about in consequence of a deputation of insurgents having unceremoniously invaded the privacy of the Imperial residence. This incident

had convinced those about the Emperor, who himself was incapable of offering any resistance, that his person was no longer secure in the home of his fathers, and that it was necessary to get him away before any fresh humiliations were offered or acts of violence committed. It was the Empress Maria Anna herself who contrived the plan of escape, carrying it out so successfully that no one, even in her most immediate *entourage*, had the slightest notion of it. On the afternoon of the 17th their Imperial Majesties, with their whole family, got into their carriages to go for a drive as usual, and were driven on to the first or second station on the road to Linz. There they took post horses, and travelled on in this way without stopping as far as Innsbruck. They had so little dared to take anything with them that might betray their intended journey that they had not even had cloaks put into the carriages, and the Emperor and his family suffered bitterly from the cold in the night.

"Vienna was at that time dominated by the Academic Legion, which should properly have consisted of the University students, but which really included among its members a vast number of other persons, being in great measure made up of shady literary characters, doctors, barbers, and even artisans, etc. They prescribed laws to the miserable Pillersdorf Ministry, and led the citizens and the National Guard, who, with incredible stupidity, let themselves be employed for objects which must inevitably have brought about the ruin of their city. As already stated, the Emperor's flight had momentarily startled them, and the Legion was also, perhaps, a little frightened. The Ministry believed it could avail itself of this to close the 'Aula,' disband the Legion, and rid itself of this inconvenient state of tutelage. But it had not the courage to carry this out energetically nor to employ the necessary

means. Therefore only a feeble attempt was made on May 26th, and it failed, being given up directly opposition was encountered.

"When the waiter brought us our breakfast that morning, my wife asked him, 'Isn't it very hot to-day?' and he answered, 'Yes, indeed, it will be a hot day and no mistake!' On further inquiry as to his meaning, we learnt that a detachment of troops had been sent early that morning to the University to close the 'Aula,' but that the Academic Legion had resisted this design, and in consequence the whole town was in alarm, fearing a hostile collision between the military and the people. I went down at once into the street, and found guns in position at the Kärnthnertor, a couple of hundred yards off, their muzzles directed upon the street, and fusees alight. In the course of the morning crowds of people from the suburbs and vicinity forced their way through the Ratsturmtor into the inner part of the town, which at first had been kept closed, and marched through it, yelling and brawling.

"Scarcely two hours had passed before the streets were filled with barricades as high as a house, insomuch that all traffic was blocked, and foot-passengers could only get along by climbing over them. At the two entrances of our hotel, one opening on to the Kärnthner strasse, and the other on to the Himmelpfort gasse, barricades had also been erected, so that we were completely shut in. However, the day passed without any fighting, the Government not daring to begin it. The following night was the most horrible I have ever spent. At midnight we were awakened by a noise, the like of which I have never heard, and my wife was so frightened that I feared a catastrophe, and was the more uneasy as there could be no thought of getting any medical assistance. The town was lit up as bright as day, and all the bells were

ringing an alarm. Awful howls and yells raged in all the streets, and under our window, in the little Himmelpfort gasse, the barricades which closed the exit to the Kärnthner strasse were built up to such a height that the hideous, fantastic figures who had taken up their posts there could look right into the first story of the hotel. Fortunately we were on the second. Dressing quickly, I ran downstairs to ask the hotel people the cause of this sudden tumult, and found members of the proletariat and heroes of the barricades encamped upon the ground-floor, employing the occasion in having food and drink free. My host answered my question by saying: 'Windischgrätz is at the gates with four regiments, and is going to seize the town at once. But be quite easy, they are already boiling water and oil in the kitchen, and will bring it up for you to pour on the soldiers. All the windows must be opened and paving-stones laid on the sills ready to throw down upon the soldiers' heads.' It can be imagined how appalling was the situation in which we found ourselves! Immured, so to speak, in a mutinous town which was about to be bombarded or taken by storm, and in an inn, whose landlord was crazy enough to want to join the insurrectionary mob in defending it against the military by means of paving-stones and boiling oil and water. Added to this there was my wife weak and exhausted with fright and fatigue, and our only child, four years of age, who was still very delicate; and no possibility of escape, nor the slightest prospect of any help whatever against the frightful dangers which menaced us! Meanwhile, as regarded the supposed danger of an assault upon the town, a moment's reflection sufficed to convince me that this really could not exist and was but a bug-bear, induced by fear, in the imaginations of the barricaders. How could Prince Windischgrätz have arrived with his

troops from Prague by midnight? Besides, how could one suppose that he would begin an engagement with four regiments in the narrow streets of the town, which were one net-work of barricades? So, although the impression made on me by the landlord's words was at first one of horror, yet I told myself directly that such a danger could not possibly exist for the moment, and I hastened upstairs again to reassure my wife. In all difficult moments of our life, which in many ways has been a troublous one, I have ever had reason to rejoice in her courage and strength of character. So it was now, by God's help. Not only did she maintain entire composure and presence of mind, but got over the awful fright with which she had wakened, in an almost incredible way, and without any immediate effects on her bodily condition. I at once begged that our windows might not be thrown open in the middle of the night, and as they looked on to the little alley, which I have already mentioned, this was not insisted upon. Meanwhile the martial fury of the valorous people soon subsided, and the barricades were for the most part deserted by their heroes, who only mounted them again when convinced some hours later that the danger was but a phantom, and that there were no soldiers before the gates. This I heard from reliable witnesses, who had walked about the streets during the alarm. I am therefore persuaded that, had a serious attack really been made that night by the military, the town would have been defended with the same lack of serious and dogged resistance as was the case later, on November 1st, even though the defenders were then quite differently trained and organised.

"After we had been awake for some hours and the noise and alarm bells had ceased, we went to bed again and were not further disturbed."

Here the fragment breaks off. The next letter is dated from Linz.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"LINZ, *June 6th*, 1848.

"We have had to fly hither, my dearest Mamma, as the state of affairs in Vienna was such that to remain there was impossible. . . . So we came back by steamboat, travelling through the night, which was made hideous by the heat and the noise. We wanted to go as far as Ischl, but could not get further than this place, Anna being so fatigued, and so we are here in a charmingly situated country house called Bergschlösschen, about a quarter of an hour's distance from the town. I am painfully aware that I ought properly to go to Innsbruck, whither the diplomatic corps has been invited, and where I ought to be in order to present my credentials. However, in consideration of the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed, I have received permission from Berlin to remain here till I can leave Anna, and meanwhile, Arnim will stay on at Innsbruck, but I must not take advantage of this.

"Our pecuniary affairs are in an especially unfavourable condition, owing to these events, and I still have my house and furniture in Munich on my hands till Michaelmas, and cannot sell anything. I have already engaged several servants in Vienna; we have had to rent a house here for the whole summer at a high rental; and then we shall have to go to Innsbruck to set up house again there.

". . . . Whether we shall ever return to Vienna and when, cannot be reckoned upon at all. I should not wonder if the Court were to reside in Prague next winter.

". . . . I do not know which is the more dismal, the out-

look in the North or in the South. The Landtag in Berlin and the *one* Chamber government in Mecklenburg have a very serious appearance. If only there were not so much to be cast in one's teeth everywhere."

Amid all these distractions Bernstorff always found comfort in his home. This is evident from all his letters of that time, two of which may here be given:

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"LINZ, *June 14th*, 1848.

"My darling Mamma,

"We have been blessed with a strong, healthy little daughter. The little creature is to be called Marie Therese, after Marie Esterhazy and Queen Therese of Bavaria, Anna's particular friend, who told her beforehand that we were to call the child Therese. Luckily, there is an Evangelical pastor and a chapel here. If the little girl is in all ways like her mother, she will be as great a delight to me as a son could be!"

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"LINZ, *June 23rd*, 1848.

". . . . Little Andreas, who is quite charming with his new sister, said yesterday that he would rather have had a little brother, as he could have worn his old clothes. This is, to be sure, a very practical idea in these days, and he is not far wrong. We might easily become so circumstanced soon, that this would not be at all a matter of indifference to us. The land-tax in Saxony has already been trebled, etc. . . .

"Alas! the good old times! We did not sufficiently appreciate and enjoy them. Our little lad quite touched us to-day. When we were in Vienna and he spent eleven

dreadful days in a room looking out into a narrow alley, from which he could see neither the sky nor the street, Anna found him crying in bed one evening, and when she asked him the reason, he said he wanted to go back to Munich. To-day he was with us in the sitting-room, and he again spoke of his dear Munich, and when Anna said to him she really could not think why he liked being in Munich better than here, where he had a pretty garden, he began to cry bitterly, and said, 'But I want the dear blue and yellow room.' It is the same tender heart that made him cry when we were leaving Stintenburg and want to turn back when we were but a quarter of a mile off."

In Vienna an increasing desire was felt and loudly expressed for the Emperor's return. Those about the person of the sovereign, particularly the Archduchess Sophie,[1] were for a long time averse to this plan, but they finally acceded to the entreaties of the Pillersdorff Ministry that a representative of the Emperor might be sent to Vienna to open the Reichstag. Accordingly, on June 15th Royal Letters Patent were issued appointing the Archduke Johann[2] to represent the Emperor, and entrusting to him the conduct of government affairs. A few days after this the Archduke also assumed the position of Imperial Administrator, which had been assigned to him by the National Assembly at S. Paul's Church. It is significant that Bernstorff should have immediately recognised in this man an adversary of Prussia and an instrument of all her enemies. The Count's des-

[1] Sophie, Archduchess of Austria, born 1805, died 1872, daughter of King Maximilian I. (Joseph of Bavaria), and twin-sister of the Queen, Maria of Saxony. She married the Archduke Franz Karl Joseph of Austria in 1824. After Ferdinand II. renounced the throne, the eldest of her four sons, Franz Joseph, became Emperor of Austria.

[2] Johann, Archduke of Austria, born at Florence 1782, died at Graz 1859, son of Joseph II. and Maria Ludovica, daughter of Carlos III. of Spain.

patches to Auerswald,[1] the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, contain grave warnings as to the Archduke's plans, of whom the patriots at S. Paul's Church had no real knowledge whatever, and imagined they were making a "bold move" choosing him.

In his despatch of August 16th Count Bernstorff draws for Auerswald, in drastic fashion, a picture of the man's personality. The Archduke, he says, is not so well known in Prussia and Germany as in his own country. In Austria it is known that as early as 1812 he had formed the plan of establishing for himself a "Kingdom of Rhetia," and later on, when this plan came to the knowledge of the Emperor Franz, the Archduke had to go down on his knees to sue for mercy. He was afterwards connected with secret societies, and by an outward show of liberalism and well-feigned enthusiasm for German unity had attained the object which it was now apparent he had been aiming at.

Bernstorff to Auerswald.

"VIENNA, *August 16th*, 1848.

". . . . As to the personal ambition of this Prince (the Archduke Johann) and the lack of probity and honour which characterizes him, no one has any doubt who knows him well; and the most respectable and best informed men—Austrians—have assured me that he is false through and through, and that of all the Archdukes he is at once the most capable, and the most false. Anyone who has observed him for a while, as I have, and especially anyone who has followed his behaviour on the occasion of his election as Imperial Administrator, cannot but share this conviction. He always uses the language of the

[1] Rudolf von Auerswald, born 1795, died 1858, became head of the new Ministry for Foreign Affairs, on Camphausen's retirement, in June, 1848.

person to whom he is speaking. When he addresses the National Assembly he describes himself as holding a commission from the government; while in his proclamation 'to the Austrians' and 'to the German people,' he refers to the principle of unconditional popular suffrage as the sole source of his power. He had hardly finished delivering a speech here to the students and the Committee of Public Safety in support of the Revolution and Sovereignty of the people, when he tells some of my other colleagues that the whole thing, namely, his position as Imperial Administrator, is quite illegal! an avowal which he made to me the day before his departure, and which I could only answer by a shrug of the shoulders. Some persons who knew that indecision was one of the Archduke Johann's most prominent characteristics, doubted at the moment of his election whether he would have the courage to pluck the fruit he had planted now that it was ripe. But these doubts were soon dissipated owing to what one might call the over-speedy haste with which he clutched at it. . . . It may also be mentioned that it was he who specially incited and aggravated the disturbances which were caused here by the proclamation issued by his Majesty the King of Prussia, on March 21st; that it was he who got the Emperor to unfurl the German flag, presumably in order to frustrate the plans of Prussia; and that he actively misrepresented Prussia as having designs on the Imperial Crown of Germany. It illustrates the genuineness of his own friendship for the King and others.

"The Archduke's intention in accepting the office of Administrator was not to give up his functions as representative of the Emperor here. As I have already had the honour to inform you from Innsbruck, he meant first of all to try to get the German National Assembly trans-

ferred to Vienna, or, failing that, to Regensburg, so that he might combine the duties of both offices. It was in Frankfort that he first became convinced of the impossibility of this, and therefore decided definitely for the Administratorship. Also, the party which had hailed the Archduke's election with such wild rejoicing, did not consider the two offices as being incompatible with one another. On the contrary, they already had visions of the *two Imperial crowns of Germany and Austria united on the head of the man chosen by the people.* They hoped to establish, here as well as there, a quasi-legitimate and responsible revolutionary dynasty, which would have a special measure of popular sympathy because of its political origin, and the combinations which had given rise to it. The principal cause, therefore, of the rejoicing was that they considered Austria called to the head of German affairs, and thought to see her a united power under the Archduke Johann and his descendants.

"This party is a numerous, and, at the present moment, a powerful one, consisting chiefly of young German Radicals, though it includes many absolute Republicans as well. It wishes the German provinces of Austria to be closely allied to Germany and desires the exclusion of all non-German states, notably Hungary and the adjoining countries of Italy and Galicia. Furthermore, it desires the complete dissolution of the Austrian Monarchy in favour of the United Germany. When one reflects that the Kingdom of Bohemia—the largest of the Austrian provinces hitherto belonging to the Germanic Confederation—has for the most part a Slav population, and would not be comprised in Germany; that Illyria, particularly the coast district, contains far more Italian inhabitants than Slavs or Germans; that the Italian is already asking to be released from the Germanic Confederation, whilst the German Tyrol will

adhere to its legitimate Emperor in any case, one can estimate how slight a portion of Austria could really be included in Germany, and what disruption would ensue, what perils for the whole of Central Europe, should the ideas of this party be carried out. Therefore all reasonable and thoughtful people, all who mean honourably by the Austrian Monarchy and the legitimate dynasty, will not hear of being merged in Germany, any more than they will hear of a further dividing-off of the non-German provinces. But be this as it may, the Archduke preferred, as I have said, to give up his honourable position here, one of infinite importance for the whole future of his great hereditary Austrian fatherland, rather than renounce the office of a German Imperial Administrator. This should be a further irrefragable proof of the value he sets upon this office and the hopes he attaches to it.

"The Archduke Johann has for a long time extended his personal ambitions to his son, of whom he is particularly fond, and he is taking pains to give him an excellent education. It is known that he has tried to obtain from the Emperor the title of Prince of Meran for him, but this has been refused. Even at the time the boy was raised to the position of Count of Meran, many people, considering the well-known intentions of the father, could not view without suspicion the assumption of a name borrowed from one of the component parts of the empire.

"Now, putting all the foregoing things together, I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt but that the Archduke Johann *is aiming at the Imperial crown of Germany;* I feared it long before his election as Administrator, and called attention to it when I was in Munich. And his aims are not purely self-centred. His plan is to entail the crown upon his son and through him to establish a future

Imperial dynasty. Neither have I any doubt that he is being supported by a numerous and powerful party in Germany, and that this is the true explanation of the cheers raised for 'Anna'[1] and 'Johann.' The more convinced one is of all this, the more one must expect that the Imperial Administrator will endeavour to secure for the Central Power every faculty and privilege which can confer upon it strength and stability. By one 'bold move' Prussia has already been excluded from her proper share in the control of German affairs, and this with a total disregard of all formulas hitherto recognized as binding. Now that this has once become an accomplished fact, we are threatened with a much greater and more abiding danger, and one far more likely to be realized—that Prussia's exclusion will be declared permanent by another 'bold move'—in that case, the Prussian Monarchy hitherto an independent German and European power of the first rank—with her glorious traditions, her matchless army, her well ordered and till now, exemplary financial arrangements, and her sixteen million inhabitants, who have a brilliant reputation among all German peoples for their enlightenment, intelligence and national feeling, *will become subordinate for all time to a foreign hereditary power. And this power is one which can only exist and fulfil its appointed task by abolishing the independence of all individual states forming parts of the Empire as a whole; so that it will employ especial force to crush any opposition on Prussia's part, as being the most powerful and independent of the individual states.* Therefore if the realization of these plans is not at once nipped

[1] Anna, wife of the Archduke Johann, was the daughter of a postmaster at Aussee, Tyrol, a circumstance which particularly stirred the popular enthusiasm. Her full name was Anna Plochl; after her marriage in 1827, she was first made Baroness von Brandhofen, and afterwards "Countess von Meran."

in the bud; if Prussia does not place herself at the head of Germany, or at least take all preliminary measures to insure herself a full share in the Central Government of the united Fatherland, such a share, that is, as her greatness, her power and her history demand; if, moreover, she does not insure it in such a way as to make every attempt to deprive her of it impossible, then only two alternatives remain. Either Prussia will be robbed of all state independence, even of that possessed by her German provinces centuries before the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, and will perish as a mediatized and composite state; or else she will begin too late to resist her intended destruction and will have to purchase her independence by a violent struggle and an infinitude of civil war, or at least by a total dissolution of all German unity and concord."

Bernstorff pointed out that the sole means of deliverance from all these dangers lay in excluding Austria from Germany. He gives expression to this view in the following despatch to Auerswald:[1]

"If Germany is to become a federal state *we must get rid of Austria, so long as she continues to be an independent power, and put Prussia at the head.* Prussia has none but German interests. All her interests and influences permit of her being fully incorporated into Germany. She needs but to be shown the place which by virtue of her power, and of all she has hitherto done for Germany, she ought in reason and justice to occupy. It is bound to come to this when once the struggle for German unity has been aroused, and people have become convinced that a uniform

[1] This report was occasioned by an article by Prince Leiningen, entitled: "Entweder, oder" (Either or—). In the supplement to No. 226 of the "Allgemeine Zeitung" for August 13th; at the end of the report, Bernstorff complains that all the offices in the new Imperial Ministry are filled by men who are not Prussians. He points to this as a characteristic sign.

Confederation is attainable in this way only; namely, by Prussia showing immutable determination not to be incorporated into Germany on any terms but these.

"While continuing to devote herself to German interests, and to sacrifice herself for them, she must not give up the smallest portion of her authority and independence till she has some security from Germany in her hands. If she once submits to a foreign power, if she sacrifices any considerable portion of this said authority and independence, as Prince Leiningen's article credits her with doing, especially with regard to her army, and her foreign policy, then it will be too late! When once another power has established a footing and has seized the control, then Germany will hold no further negotiations with Prussia, but will take a real delight in crushing her, and all the more speedily and forcibly, because she has hitherto been the most powerful hindrance to a revolution.

"Let us not be deceived by what the present leaders of German affairs, men like Gagern, Heckscher, and others, say, namely, that the election of the Archduke Johann is only a provisional thing, no other choice being possible under present circumstances, and that when the Constitution is definitely settled Prussia will infallibly come to the top, so that it is to her interest to be as amenable as possible, and to strengthen the Central Power which must one day fall to her. It would be a highly dangerous game for Prussia to let herself be thus deluded. *If once the Central Power is strong and Prussia weak, then the former will need Prussia no longer, and no one in Germany will enter the lists on her behalf.* Nobody who has followed, during the past few months, the shameless and disgraceful attacks to which Prussia has been exposed in the whole of South and West Germany, and even in the National Assembly itself, can indulge in self-deception as to the feelings and

intentions which preponderate in Germany with regard to her. Neither will anyone believe for a moment that should Prussia now place herself in subjection, she will ever voluntarily be put at the head of affairs. But if these men are in earnest in the matter, and if they have the power to carry out their project, let them speak out freely and openly, and make these definite principles the *conditio sine qua non* of negotiating with Prussia. It then will be possible to have unity and concord, and a German Confederate State. Otherwise Germany must remain as heretofore, merely a Confederation of states with a somewhat strengthened but feeble Central Power. But in the Central Power, also, Prussia must have her full and due share, unless she intend voluntarily to renounce her position and her well-earned rights. She must not only participate in the Executive organization of the Central Power, but in the Central Power itself, be it by means of a due share in a central committee, or directory, as was at first intended when the Triumvirate was proposed, or be it by holding alternate authority in the supreme control of affairs."[1]

This despatch shows that Bernstorff's trenchant criticisms on the situation were not occasioned by a prejudice

[1] Extract from a letter of Auerswald, Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Berlin, September 5th, 1848.

"The copious despatches you have addressed to me, dated 16th, 18th, and 25th, have arrived safely. I have likewise received your later despatches, including No. 37, which came to-day. I submitted the private despatches, Nos. 8 and 9, to his Majesty, without delay, calling his attention to the importance of their contents. His Majesty gave them every consideration, and showed a lively interest in them. The views you express respecting the further development of German affairs, and more especially those concerning the power of Prussia with regard to the Provisional Central Power, *have met with the full attention and consideration of his Majesty's Cabinet*. Not less so, the statement you have sent as to Austria's attitude in questions of German public affairs. His Majesty's Government regard these weighty questions from essentially the same standpoint as yourself." Signed, AUERSWALD.

against the German struggle for unity. He wished for a great state, united as to its organization and government, but it was to be one, in which Prussia, as a purely German power, must play a leading part. The efforts of the Frankforters with their "Ideal Policy," which neglected all real political considerations, inspired him with the greatest mistrust. As a true Prussian, what grieved him most was the lack of respect shown for the Prussian Monarchy, though it was impossible to place Prussia on the same grade as the other principalities in Germany.

In the Schleswig-Holstein question, which was coming increasingly to the front, Bernstorff also took the side of Prussia. This is all the more noteworthy as he had most emphatically condemned the declaration contained in the Letter Patent of King Christian VIII., of July 8th, 1846, which declared that the law of the Royal Succession should be valid in the whole of Schleswig and in parts of Holstein, as well as in Denmark and Lauenburg. In like manner he most sharply censured the action of the Eider Danish party which had come into power under King Friedrich VII., and he had hailed with joy the establishment of an independent government for Schleswig-Holstein under Count Friedrich Reventlow, Prince Friedrich of Augustenburg-Noer, and others. Nevertheless, he approved the armistice of Malmö concluded between Prussia and Denmark, for he knew that Prussia had England, Russia, and Sweden against her in this affair, and that she was, moreover, sorely in need of warships.

The Austrian Court, reassured by Radetzky's victories in Italy, had returned to Vienna in August. Bernstorff was thus at length released from the nomadic life he had been obliged to lead, and from his perpetual journeys to and fro between Innsbruck and Vienna. A pleasing picture of the return of the Imperial Family after their

protracted exile is given in the following letters from Countess Bernstorff to her mother.

Countess Bernstorff to her Mother.

"VIENNA, *August 15th*, 1848.

"The Emperor's entry was very impressive. There was no end of rejoicing. The Archduchess Sophie was smuggled in quite cleverly; they said she was not coming till Sunday, whereas she was sitting on the back seat of the same carriage with the Emperor and Empress. The three young Archdukes followed in a second carriage; the two younger bowed in a very gracious way, so I hear, while the elder one looked grave and serious, which pleased all sensible people. The Emperor has had a Te Deum sung in S. Stephen's Church—what for I can't yet rightly make out; the Viennese had more reason to sing it than he, poor ill-used man. France and England have offered to mediate in the Milan affair. Many people are of opinion that Austria should relinquish Lombardy and only keep Venice. This seems to me to be asking a great deal after it has just been conquered by Austrian arms."

Countess Bernstorff to her Mother.

"HIETZING, *August 24th*, 1848.

". . . . Yesterday there was another revolution of working men. The National Guard conducted itself better, and a fight took place in the Prater. Eighty persons were wounded and six were killed. In consequence of this the Committee of Public Safety has been dissolved by the Ministry with the consent of the National Assembly, and the Ministry has taken over the Executive and the control of the National Guard. Wessenberg[1] is back, but he seems to have no wish to

[1] Johann Philipp, Freiherr von Wessenberg, Austrian statesman, and opponent of Metternich (1773–1858). In 1848 he undertook the Presidency of the Austrian Constitutional Ministry, with the portfolio for Foreign Affairs, etc.

retain the department for Foreign Affairs, and Collorédo[1] is spoken of for it. Felix Schwarzenberg would be the best man. . . . Wessenberg is not much pleased with Frankfort, and Cavaignac[2] has written to Berlin: 'Si ces fous à Francfort veulent la guerre ils l'auront!' . . . . I had my audience to-day at nine o'clock. First I went to the Emperor and Empress, who received me standing. The Empress is tall and thin, and has a very pleasant and kind expression. She had on a red mousseline-de-soie, a white crêpe cap with feathers, most beautiful pearls round her neck, and was wearing the Sternkreuz Order in large brilliants. The Emperor is too funny; he repeats everything the Empress says, first in German and then in French with the rapidity of a magpie. As we withdrew 'à reculons', he kept murmuring: 'Comtesse Bernstorff, charmé d'avoir fait votre connaissance,' and directly afterwards in German: 'Gräfin Bernstorff, sehr erfreut, Sie kennen gelernt zu haben!' But however weak he may be mentally, I do not think he is quite hébété, for when Frau von Hochschild told the Empress she had spent part of the summer in Reichenau, he said to me: 'That is a beautiful place at the foot of the Schneeberg, and I am sorry I do not know it.' This was quite a connected sentence, which they could not possibly have taught him beforehand. He has a very big head and remarkably small hands and feet. He frequently rolls his eyes in an odd way when calling the Empress to his aid in conversation. After-

[1] Franz de Paula Reichsgraf von Collorédo-Wallsee, born 1799, died 1859. He was Minister from Vienna to St. Petersburg, 1843–1847, President of the Diet at Frankfort in 1848, and Minister to London 1852–1856, and then Ambassador to Rome.—Tr.

[2] General Eugen Louis Cavaignac (1802–1857) was entrusted by the French National Assembly with the military dictatorship when the insurrection broke out in Paris. After quelling the disturbances he was chosen President of the Cabinet. Like many French Republicans, he feared the German Revolution might result in a united Germany, which would be detrimental to French interests. This made him distrustful of the Assembly at Frankfort.

wards we went to the Archduchess Sophie, who won my heart by asking at once after you, and especially after papa, and in such a kind and sympathetic way. She let us sit down, which was very welcome to my poor feet. The Archduchess looked depressed, poor woman! She has not got the pretty expression of our Queen, and looks more passée. She was not particularly well dressed; she wore a blue sprigged foulard, a material which would have been more appropriate for a dressing-gown than for a low dress trimmed with black lace. She also had lace in her hair, with diamonds. She spoke a great deal of the sad state of things in this country. . . ."

Countess Bernstorff records a few other items of the Archduchess's conversation on this occasion. "For us Austrians," she said, "the contrast between things as they are and as they were is particularly great; we were so quiet, so secure! Great mistakes were committed, that I have said often enough, but still we had great peace and security: it is frightfully sad to be ruined by merely holding wrong opinions!" . . . "Ah, your King is so good, so excellent! I don't know a better man; only his heart and opinions have made him unfortunate. How kind he was after Tschech's[1] frightful attempt on his life! It was this attempt which first robbed my sister of her security. The withdrawal of the military from Berlin broke her heart—she, who has always been so clear-headed and strong-minded in all these matters. . . . I was so unwilling to leave the Tyrol, I wept for four days at having to come away; it was only because so many faithful servants advised the Emperor to go to Vienna that I acquiesced, and said, 'I will follow you, but with tears!'"

[1] A man named Tschech made an attempt on the King's life in 1844.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"HIETZING, *August* 31*st*, 1848.

"We have been established here in a pretty country-house since the 7th. . . . Although matters are still in a very bad state, we yet hope that the glorious reconquest of Italy has saved Austria as a monarchy. They will not be mad enough to surrender anything after they have been victorious, and all mediation from London, Paris and Frankfort has been politely declined. From news received from Malmö on the 28th, our armistice seems, thank God, likely to be effected at last, after vain endeavours on the part of the Frankforters to prolong the war. Happily people at home are again coming to their senses a little. I am straining every nerve to make them pluck up courage —whether it will be of any use, or whether I shall merely break my neck over it, I leave to the wisdom and mercy of God. I cannot howl with the wolves, and as long as my heart beats, I shall speak the truth. No sense can be built up out of hollow theories without strength or means. . . . My parents-in-law are now waiting for their fate to be decided. As the smaller countries are being mediatized in due form—*of which, by the way, I wish them joy with all my heart*—and as their Legations are being abolished, no doubt the Saxon appointment in Paris will also come to an end shortly. The salary has already been cut down by a third!"

The Countess was still in correspondence with the Princess of Prussia. They offered one another mutual consolation in those sad days, when the whole world seemed running out of its accustomed grooves. The constant anxiety in which the Prince and Princess lived is shown in a letter from her of October 10th, in which she says:

"We live from day to day . . . in nervous apprehension, and life has lost its charm."

In October, Bernstorff and his wife were filled with fresh dismay at the scenes of terror enacted by the mob in Vienna, when it will be remembered, Theodor Baillet von Latour fell a victim to the popular fury. Happily the Count and Countess were just then staying at Hietzing, so that they were spared the worst sights. Councillor Weymann, an official at the Prussian Legation, managed to force his way through the lines into the town as far as the Legation, and afterwards gave Bernstorff a report of the horrors. The latter was much upset at these occurrences, and writes of them to his mother thus:—"'Pray, and strike the blow!' as the Archbishop of Mainz said at the time of the French Revolution. In my opinion this is the only thing now to be done. I have such a passion for the army that I could hug every soldier!"

In Germany, meanwhile, Prussia had come in conflict with the Assembly in S. Paul's Church at Frankfort. The armistice of Malmö which Prussia had been forced to conclude with Denmark was ratified by the Assembly with extreme reluctance. Later on a resolution was passed for mediation in the matter, to which the extreme Left replied by starting riots in the streets. Schmerling called out the troops and put down the rising. The result of these occurrences was to enhance Prussia's independence of the Assembly. As regards internal affairs, the Government recovered its strength of purpose. The democratic party having demanded of the legislature that it should support the Viennese revolutionists, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. resolved on drastic measures. In September he had nominated Wrangel, who had just returned from Holstein, to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Mark, and Count Brandenburg was placed at the head of the new Ministry. An era of

civil war was imminent, and its approach was signalled by the removal of the Assembly to Brandenburg.

The new Prussian Cabinet found itself confronted by an increasingly difficult task in respect of the King's private policy. It was known that the Sovereign only wanted a reform in the sense of a return to the past. He wished for a Germany with the Emperor of Austria as "Roman Emperor" at its head, while he himself purposed to become Commander-in-Chief of the Empire. But whilst he came into opposition with most of the nationalists of North Germany, he would not permit his Cabinet to observe even the old traditional Prussian statecraft with regard to Austria. Although Vienna employed against the "Prussian rival" all the arts of a policy which often worked by very dubious means, the King, nevertheless, insisted that Austrian diplomacy should always be met with full confidence on the part of the Prussian Ministers.

The members of the Berlin Cabinet desperately repudiated all implications of having swerved from the traditional policy of Prussia with regard to Austria and the small states. On September 16th, Bülow,[1] who had temporarily taken over the portfolio for Foreign Affairs, in a letter to Bernstorff from Berlin, had complained that: "half Germany is speculating upon 'la baisse' of Prussia," adding, with reference to the diplomacy of the small states, "These donkeys are speculating upon the fall of Prussia, and do not see that if the Monarchy here were undermined and upset, there would be nothing for all the sovereigns of Germany to do but to demand their passports as quickly as possible. It is like inflicting a wound on their own

[1] Hans Adolf Karl Count von Bülow, of the Portremse branch of the family. Under Secretary of State, in 1848, in the Prussian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In the winter of 1848–9 temporary head of the Ministry; b. 1807, d. 1869, after being Minister President at Schwerin.

flesh. Frankfort will not upset us if only we stand firm. Everything depends on that, and God grant we may do so!" He was also ready to carry the conflict into home affairs. "I do not want any reaction," he writes in the same letter; "I want to begin the fight on constitutional lines, to take up a strictly legitimate government position, and then to carry on the campaign with all my might." There is a very bitter letter from Bülow to Bernstorff on December 8th, 1848. Prince Karl and Count Brühl had been sent to Olmütz, whither the Imperial Court had gone, to inform the Austrian government of the King's views upon the German question. Bülow, who disapproved of all these special Missions, does not scruple to speak out plainly. His letter was as follows:—

"Dear Count,

"I have only time for a word or two. The King, very much against my wish, has given Prince Karl, in addition to his Mission of congratulation, a political errand, having charged him and Count Brühl to set forth his views upon German affairs; views which are, many of them, very impracticable. I have endeavoured to reduce the matter to its just proportions by giving Count Brühl a memorandum for his information, and am trying to restrict the affair, in the first place, to an inquiry as to the intentions of Austria herself. I am sending you a copy of the memorandum.

"I wish you also to go to Olmütz to see that the affair is conducted in a reasonable way, and to prevent some merely verbal message from the King being construed into a piece of Cabinet policy, which we might afterwards be unable to digest."

After the victories in Italy and Bohemia and the surrender of Vienna, Austria, notwithstanding the critical

situation in Hungary, prepared to resume a foreign policy aimed directly at Prussia. The situation seemed likely to become once more what it had been in the days preceding the March revolution, only that now, instead of Metternich's plausibility, the iron will of Prince Schwarzenberg had to be reckoned with. He had seized the reins of Government at the desire of the Austrian politicians. As a condition of his taking office, the Prince stipulated that the Emperor Ferdinand should abdicate, and be succeeded by the young and energetic Franz Joseph. Schwarzenberg's internal policy was one of resolute centralization, while his German policy was to thwart all Prussia's attempts at hegemony, whether they emanated from the Frankfort Assembly or from the Prussian Government. Nevertheless, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. set his hopes increasingly upon an understanding with Austria, by which he purposed to anticipate the resolutions of the Assembly. At the beginning of December, Count Oriola, who had been appointed to the Prussian Legation at Vienna, returned from Berlin and brought Bernstorff a message from the King, desiring him to negotiate with Schwarzenberg for a royal committee of six kings. From a diplomatic point of view it was certainly a mistake to open negotiations with such a proposal, as it would at once reveal the idea of a smaller Germany under Prussia's leadership, before anything could be done on the part of Austria. From Bernstorff's papers we find that he wrote down the proposals communicated to him in the following form :—

"THE COMMITTEE OF SIX KINGS.

"(Royal Command transmitted to me by Count Oriola.)

Note by Bernstorff of December 28th.[1]

"The sovereignty of the Frankfort Assembly is absolutely unrecognized.

[1] 1848, the year is not mentioned. The copy is in pencil.

"The six kings to unite in forming a Kings' Committee. The other states not to be mediatized, but to remain entirely independent as regards their internal policy, and to form a state parliament. The supreme control of federal affairs to be by means of a committee. The said League between the six crowned heads[1] to be finally set forth as soon as the Frankfort Parliament has finished making its constitution. Meanwhile, it is desirable that the present provisional arrangement should continue as long as possible.

"If Prince Schwarzenberg agrees to this, the King wishes to send a special plenipotentiary at once to Olmütz to settle further particulars with him and then to make the necessary proposals to the other royal courts. The matter must be kept a complete secret until it is finished. The armies of these six kings would have absolute power in their hands. As far as Austria is concerned, not many troops are needed; only a few."

From Bernstorff's Report to the King.

"VIENNA, *December 9th*, 1848.

"They say here that the proposals brought by Oriola could not but be in the highest degree welcome to Prince Schwarzenberg, and that he is 'quite prepared to entertain further proposals and to negotiate concerning them with the plenipotentiaries appointed by the King.' It is said that the Prince will not yet express himself as to details, but that he believes he can reckon unconditionally upon the Bavarian Court.

[1] Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover and Württemberg. In Bernstorff's report to the King, of December 9th, he carries out the above short note in greater detail. Among other things he adds: "The Kings' Committee takes a higher position than all the other confederate princes put together. However, there is no idea of mediatizing them!"

"He told me at once, however, that in the charter of constitution for the Prussian state, published by your Majesty on the 5th inst., he had been very much struck by the article providing for the Prussian constitution being brought into accord later on with that of Germany. He said that this had affected him most disagreeably, since such deference to an Assembly which by all reports was approaching dissolution, and such subordination to Germany of Prussia's own state arrangements, could only be explained by the supposition that your Majesty's Government had not given up wishing and hoping to see Prussia placed at the head of Germany. They also put the same construction here upon the other terms of the document of constitution, which are liberal beyond all expectation, and which will unpleasantly embarrass the Austrian Government in many ways, since it had no intention whatever of going so far, but it will be very difficult for it to lag behind the example of Prussia.

"Prince Schwarzenberg could not rid himself of this view, though I called his attention to the recent appearance of Heinrich von Gagern[1] at Potsdam, and to the fact, now become known, of your Majesty having refused his offers. Moreover, the Prince remarked that your Majesty, by the incorporation of Prussia into Germany, would have to renounce your fine position as sovereign of an independent European power, and would only receive instead a very weak and precarious Imperial crown. As to this, I confined myself to replying that Austria's position was much happier and simpler than that of Prussia, since she must of necessity be severed entirely from the rest of Germany, and would be able in herself to form a

[1] The well-known member of the Assembly at Frankfort at whose suggestion (the "bold move" referred to) the Archduke Johann was appointed Imperial Administrator.

sufficiently strong and complete power; whereas Prussia's geographical situation implied for her a close alliance with the rest of Germany; indeed, she could not well exist without Germany, by whom she was bounded and enclosed everywhere. That being the case, I was of opinion that the influence and power of Prussia in Germany could only be of any consequence if she were great and powerful in herself as an independent state. Like all other Austrian statesmen, Prince Schwarzenberg would not express any recognition of the need for a closer alliance with Germany, and I was again strongly convinced of the unconquerable disinclination there is in Austria to think of Prussia as possibly becoming greater and more powerful!"

In fact, directly after taking office, Prince Schwarzenberg had begun to assume a self-conscious tone towards Prussia. He reckoned upon the plans of the Berlin Cabinet clashing with those of the King, and so making all serious opposition on the part of the Prussian state an impossibility. On December 13th he demanded that the whole of Austria, with all her provinces and with thirty millions of foreign-speaking inhabitants, should be admitted to the Germanic Confederation.

The Berlin Cabinet becoming more than ever aware of the dangers menacing Prussia from Vienna, sought now to take shelter behind that party in Frankfort which was working for the establishment of a hereditary Imperial dynasty for Prussia, and it endeavoured to play off this party against Austria. So although the Prussian memorial of December 19th, which was presented at Vienna, did not actually refuse to allow Austria as a whole to enter the Germanic Confederation, yet it claimed for the lesser part of Germany the right of "consolidation in a narrower sense within the Confederation." Nothing effective was then however

attained, for the King would not take advantage of Austria's difficulties in Hungary, nor would he allow his Cabinet a free hand in the negotiations.

Bülow writes on December 20th, 1848, to Bernstorff from Berlin :—"Many thanks, dear Count, for your letters of the 11th and 16th, from Olmütz and Vienna. Since then I have had several discussions with his Majesty on this matter, and on the German question in general.

"The missive I send you to-day by special messenger is the laborious result of a variety of different opinions and concessions on both sides. In spite of Count Brandenburg's best support, I am placed in a difficult position. Just imagine! notwithstanding all the support on the part of B. [Brandenburg] and the other Ministers, it was only with the greatest difficulty that I was able to prevent the King sending Canitz at once *en mission*, etc., to Olmütz, there to act exactly as he pleased in everything. I should have to refuse positively to subscribe to anything of the kind, and I particularly insisted that, wherever we had people on the spot thoroughly competent to deal with the affair, extraordinary missions of this sort could do nothing but harm. The King spoke again to-day of sending Canitz quite privately and on his own responsibility to Olmütz to use his influence there, but I hope to avert that intention also. As regards the matter itself, I hold firmly to the following points :

"(1) We must endeavour in every way to act harmoniously in our negotiations with Austria, and, above all, avoid excluding her or ousting her from the Confederation, for this would be prejudicial to Germany and to our own political position.

"(2) *But we must not sacrifice unconditionally our own interests to this consideration, which coalesce with those of Germany, still less, must we allow ourselves to be deprived*

of the position and influence in Germany which are our due.

"(3) Should Austria not be able to exceed the terms of Confederation hitherto accepted, it does not therefore follow that the remaining German states need be hindered from entering into a closer alliance for the furtherance of their material interests.

"(4) *In such a closer alliance Prussia must claim the leading influence.*

"(5) On various grounds I do not desire a German Imperial dynasty for Prussia, but certainly wish her to have her due share in the supreme government.

"(6) I do not want the German National Assembly to draw up an authoritative constitution, *but I have quite as little desire that the Assembly should be abolished*, for in that case we should again find ourselves confronted by thirty separate interests, and then nothing could be done. We should, therefore, strive mutually to keep on good terms as long as possible.

"The Assembly at Frankfort is beginning to feel its impotence; it is no longer a danger to us, and it can only be a useful ally as regards the other states, since but for the influence it exerts upon the latter, nothing could be done with them."

One of Bernstorff's next despatches describes his first negotiations[1] with Schwarzenberg in connection with the memorial from Prussia. There are already indications of the wide cleavage which existed between the Prince's opinions and the views of all those politicians, even the most moderate ones, who wished for a smaller Germany as a separate organization.

[1] Despatch to Bülow from Vienna, December 27th, 1848, upon the question of the German Constitution.

Prince Schwarzenberg declared himself "*particularly averse to a popular legislative body founded on universal franchise.*" "It would be much more suitable," he said, "that the Federal Parliament should be created by the vote of the parliaments of the different countries." And therefore he brought forward a *donum Danaum* in the shape of a proposal for "a combination of large aggregate countries," by which the number of the small German states would be reduced. In this way he secretly hoped to withdraw several confederates from Prussia, who had many friends, especially among the small states of Northern and Central Germany. That Austria would also enter the Zollverein was assumed by the Prince as a matter of course. He indicated as a preliminary condition for the carrying-out of these plans, the "*abolition of the National Assembly by military force.*" Bernstorff raised a protest against such measures, pointing out that the more thoughtful members of the Assembly for the most part seemed inclined to come to an understanding with the Government, and that it was at all events more advisable to try this legal and peaceful method. The Prince the next day seemingly approved this idea, having meanwhile taken counsel with von Schmerling,[1] who had arrived from Frankfort. Still, the programme he announced showed plainly that there was all the difference in the world between his views and those of the German patriots.

"But he did not wish," says Count Bernstorff, "for any fresh provisional government in the shape of a state Chamber, convoked for the purpose of coming to terms with the National Assembly; on the contrary, he was of opinion that the Plenipotentiaries of the various courts already present in Frankfort were sufficient. It was for

[1] Anton von Schmerling, Austrian statesman. Born 1805, died 1893. Austrian Plenipotentiary to the Central Power at Frankfort.

them to take counsel and arrange matters among themselves, and with the Central Power, and through the latter, to come to terms with the Parliament. But the Imperial Cabinet of Austria was decidedly of opinion that only the *Plenipotentiaries of the larger states should co-operate, and that the small states should acquiesce in whatever arrangement should be agreed upon.* He was convinced that in this way alone could any settlement be brought about. This exactly coincides with the question touched upon the day before yesterday respecting the grouping or mediatization of the different states. Prince Schwarzenberg told me he had had a conversation with Count Brühl on this question, as I knew."

As to the subject of the "Committee of Six Kings," Schwarzenberg let this drop. He was of the opinion "*that the most natural thing would be a Directory of Three Members*, one to be nominated by Austria, another by Prussia, and the third by the Royal Courts conjointly." "Upon my rejoining," says Bernstorff, "that the presidency would have to be taken by the different members alternately, the Prince answered, laughing, indeed, but all the same, I felt his words were premeditated, *that the Presidency in the Germanic Confederation had always belonged to Austria. Upon this I begged leave to remark that experience at the Diet had shown this to be just one of the greatest faults of the old Confederation, and that the present state of things, and the position of Prussia in Germany, ought at least to warrant her being set on a footing of absolute equality with Austria.*"

But the Prince did not discuss this point further.

Sybel, in his "Founding of the German Empire," justly observes that after the above-mentioned proposals of Schwarzenberg, proposals which as good as set aside all remains of Prussia's hegemony in a smaller Germany, "the

negotiations ought properly to have been broken off." However, the King did not yet give up hopes of matters being brought to a favourable issue. He would not hear any more than before of taking shelter behind the Imperial party at Frankfort, for he felt an absolute repugnance to the form of German Constitution adopted in the Paulskirche. Therefore, neither the King nor his Cabinet, had any share whatsoever in the Prussophile efforts of the Frankforters.

"We are," writes Bülow in a private letter to Bernstorff on December 28th, 1848, from Berlin, "as innocent in this respect, at any rate, as children, for the action of our unsolicited friends at Frankfort lies entirely beyond our control, and the intrigues which are being carried on there on behalf of Prussia cannot be charged to our account, any more than we should charge Prince Schwarzenberg with the game that is being played for Austria. It is, perhaps, a mistake to have turned Schmerling out of the Ministry, but it cannot be in any way regarded as a Prussian intrigue. The Schleswigers were at the bottom of that, Heckscher and his associates, and the personal friends of Gagern.

"You have every reason to be assured that Camphausen[1] will hold himself aloof from all intrigue at Frankfort. It is not in his nature, nor in accordance with his views, and least of all, with his instructions. Here they have but one thing to reproach him with, that he has no influence at all upon the Prussian deputies!"

During these negotiations upon German affairs, serious events had come about in France, which were destined to be of the highest consequence for the whole European

[1] Ludolf Camphausen, Prussian statesman. Born 1803, died 1890. He became leader of the Prussian Ministry on March 29th, 1848; retired on June 20th. At the end of July he was made Plenipotentiary for Prussia to the Central Power at Frankfort.

situation. The Bonapartist propaganda, which had been most zealously carried on for a long time in France, had borne its fruit. At the elections on September 17th, Louis Napoleon had been returned to the Chamber of Deputies and had taken his seat in the National Assembly. On December 10th he was elected President of the French Republic by a large majority of the plebiscite, and on December 20th he was instituted in his new office. The cause of the Revolution had suffered a decisive blow. In Louis Napoleon there had arisen a dangerous adversary for Germany, although, at the moment, the full significance of this Cæsar was not realized whom the masses in France had raised on their shields.

It is now time we should return to Bernstorff's private affairs, upon which the political disturbances had exercised a very unfavourable influence. The horrors of the recent revolution in Vienna had cast a gloom upon his home there, and his family, especially his mother, seem to have thought he would throw up the diplomatic service. However, this idea was frustrated by his devotion to duty and his love for Prussia.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"HIETZING, *November 5th*, 1848.

"Now do tell me plainly and candidly whether you really wish me to retire. . . . Is it honourable to resign office just now at the most difficult and dangerous time, without any motive, and against the wishes of my Government? That it is satisfied with my services I have, thank God, the most striking evidence, and this is all the more gratifying to me in that I have sacrificed none of my principles, none of my opinions, but have ever enforced them deliberately and decidedly. Between ourselves, I must tell

you that I have just given a proof of how especially unwilling I am just now to put myself forward, or at present to accept a higher post. I don't know what the future may hold in store for me later on, and I shall leave it to God, like everything else, with the most implicit trust. All the same, I shall not refuse higher and more difficult positions directly circumstances become such that I believe myself able, by accepting those positions, to render real service to Prussia or Germany, without at the same time doing violence to my inner principles. . . . We are going back to town as soon as our windows, which were all smashed, are repaired, and we can get our furniture and things brought in. Some of the things are still at the custom-house, and some are still on the way. Several shells exploded in the courtyard and in our drawing-room, doing considerable damage. Rockets too came in, and, as there was a fear of fire, the archives had to be removed for safety to the cellar as quickly as possible. My third clerk had his arm shattered by a bullet. Thank God the great catastrophe is over; in other respects it was a very beneficial thing. May it have good results also for us in the North! We too shall probably have to go through something similar."

The high office which it was thought Bernstorff might fill, and of which he speaks in this letter, was that of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the Central Power. He mentions it again in another letter to his mother, written from Hietzing on November 13th, 1848. After expressing his fear of being probably obliged to "rush to and fro" between Vienna and Olmütz during the winter, the latter place being too small for him and his family to find accommodation there, he goes on to say that he has so much business and worry before him

that he does not know whether he is on his head or his heels. "Besides this," he says, "I am again being threatened with offers which are as difficult to accept as to refuse. My father-in-law has become Minister for Foreign Affairs. *This office, between ourselves, it was suggested I should occupy.*"

In another letter to his mother of November 30th, 1848, he informs her that his father-in-law had declined to accept the above-mentioned office, and continues: "You know about Rauch's[1] letter. I debated for a whole day, and hope by God's help to have made the right decision. Count Oriola has taken my answer to Sanssouci, and is to return to-morrow."[2]

Bernstorff's refusal could have been no easy matter to him, as he had already distinctly recognized the great difficulties of his position at Vienna.[3] Therefore his sticking to his forlorn hope, undismayed, in spite of all the troubles and disturbances, is the more commendable.

On returning to their town residence the Bernstorffs hoped to enjoy for a short space the comforts of which they had so long been deprived. In the Count's next letter, written to his mother for the New Year, there rings a note of gladness and content.[4]

[1] General von Rauch had written to him in the King's name.

[2] Werther, the Prussian Minister at Athens, to Bernstorff, February 25th, 1849: "I am sorry to hear that in addition to the press of business you had a child ill. That must always be the greatest anxiety. Much as I regret that you cannot decide upon accepting the portfolio for Foreign Affairs, I can understand your motives for not taking it. Later on, when we are really safely out of this revolutionary state of things, it will be, perhaps, easier to accept such an honourable charge. One cannot feel thankful enough to the good men of the Brandenburg Ministry for having undertaken the task of rescuing us from the abyss which lay before us."

[3] The offer here mentioned did not, however, relate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Empire. What was offered Bernstorff was the office of *Foreign Minister in Prussia*. There are but few allusions to this in his papers.

[4] Bernstorff to his mother. Vienna, January 1st, 1849.

"Above all," he says, "we must thank God that this fateful year 1848 is over without bringing us greater misfortunes. I, myself, close it with nothing but gratitude to God for having brought us through all these storms without any personal injury, and for having bestowed on us several additions to our earthly happiness, while so many have seen their happiness disappear. The nicest and most delightful addition is *our darling little Therese.*

"Last night we watched the old year out very pleasantly alone by the fireside in Anna's sitting-room. To-day we are inaugurating the restoration of the dining-room from the damage done by the shells and rockets, and our old friends, Senfft, Koenneritz, Oriola, and Baron Linden, the Minister from Württemberg, are dining with us. . . . We receive a certain number of visitors every other day; a good many people come, and we have a really pleasant circle of solid-minded men about us. I have to go to Olmütz again in a few days!"

Thus, amid the quiet joys of an affectionate home-life did Bernstorff spend the closing days of this wild, eventful year. Within the next few months he was confronted with the task—an unspeakably difficult one under the then prevailing circumstances — of rescuing for Prussia what it was possible to retrieve from the chaos of German affairs. Had his counsels been followed and energetically carried out as they deserved, Prussia would have been spared many bitter disappointments. Unfortunately, however, Bernstorff was destined to the sad experience of foreseeing results which, strive as he might, he was utterly powerless to prevent.

CHAPTER IV

FRESH CONTESTS WITH SCHWARZENBERG

Prince Schwarzenberg, Bernstorff and Prussian politics in 1849—The Imperialist party in Frankfort—Camphausen's circular despatch—Plan for an alliance between Austria and the four German kingdoms against Prussia—The Frankfort Assembly: the Imperial crown of Germany, and Friedrich Wilhelm IV.—Discourteous attitude of Schwarzenberg—The beginnings of the Union—Prussian negotiations with Austria, Saxony, Hanover, and Bavaria on the subject of an Imperial Constitution—Treaty with Saxony and Hanover—"The Three Kings' League"—Bernstorff's difficult position at Vienna—Schleinitz Minister for Foreign Affairs—Russia and Prussia—Bernstorff negotiates with the Provisional Central Power—The Convention of September 30th—Friedrich Wilhelm IV. stands godfather to Bernstorff's second son—Death of little Friedrich Wilhelm von Bernstorff.

THE next two years of Count Bernstorff's life are remarkable as the period of his great political struggle with Schwarzenberg. It was a stern contest which was being waged between the rival powers of Austria and Prussia, and the keen interest and eager partisanship evoked by the belligerents almost recalled the feuds of the Middle Ages, when Europe resounded with the cries of "Hie Welf! Hie Waiblingen!" from the two hostile camps. There was great disparity in the respective resources at the command of the combatants. The Prince was virtually given a free hand to conduct the foreign policy of his country as he pleased, so that he was in a position to play out all his trumps at the most favourable opportunity; whereas Bernstorff was left in the lurch on almost every occasion by his Government, to whose orders he had strictly to conform. Tenacity of purpose and an

iron determination were not wanting on either side, nor was there any lack of diplomatic talent. But while the Prince had no conscientious scruples against deliberately employing all the arts of a Machiavellian diplomacy, Bernstorff's weapons were those of truth, candour, and honesty; his was the trusty German blade, whose valiant thrust parried the bludgeon-strokes and poniard-stabs of his more invidious adversary. The time of this conflict has so long gone by that it is now possible to rate it at its proper objective value.

It would be quite a mistake to reproach Prince Schwarzenberg for having attempted to secure the greatest political advantages for his own country. On the contrary, he had a perfect right to do so. The fault lay in the means he employed against so loyal an antagonist as Friedrich Wilhelm IV., who was most sincerely desirous of coming to an understanding. Worst of all, was the brutal way in which Schwarzenberg would constantly break his word, and disregard all the promises he had given. The policy he pursued in Austria's name must also, under the circumstances, be regarded as a most futile and short-sighted one. Never was there a Prussian sovereign who had a more genuine respect than had the King for Austria's traditional place and mission in Germany; never was there a Hohenzollern more ardently desirous of preserving this state as the leading power among German peoples. It will be remembered that even Count Vitzthum,[1] a partisan of Austria, gives unreserved testimony to this in his memoirs. Schwarzenberg, indeed, needed but to hold out his hand to have received from the Prussian King a number of concessions which would have been of great value to Austria. But instead of this, the maxim he observed in all his tactics was: "first to humiliate, then to

[1] Saxon Minister in England. Born 1819, died 1895.

annihilate," which at last exasperated King Friedrich Wilhelm, notwithstanding all his Austrian proclivities. The Schwarzenberg policy—in the name of justice be it said—met with sharp censure at the time, even in influential quarters in Austria itself. The army, especially, had still a very strong feeling for their Prussian companions in arms, while Radetzky and his immediate circle did not conceal their opinion that the course of action adopted by Schwarzenberg towards Prussia was thoroughly false and perverted.

Let us now follow the further progress of the negotiations. On the pretext of acceding to the King's wishes in the matter of the constitution, Schwarzenberg proposed that a system of grouping, on a far more detailed plan than the Prussian one, should be introduced in the new division of Germany. This he did knowing full well that the execution of such a plan would be fraught with the greatest difficulties for Prussia. The King—generous as ever in thought and feeling—accepted the Prince's proposals in all good faith, and wished to negotiate upon them, but his Cabinet, forewarned by the despatches from Bernstorff, saw through Schwarzenberg's schemes, and were in perfect despair.

"Dear Count," writes Bülow in a private letter to Bernstorff of January 6th, 1849, "it is not my fault that I have not returned an answer until to-day to your last letter by courier. My delay has been due to the difficulty of coming to an understanding with his Majesty, which is always a hard task *in rebus germanicis*, and this time there was an extra interruption, owing to the New Year and the move to Charlottenburg. I cannot deny that I found it very hard to enter more fully into Schwarzenberg's ideas on the grouping question than we were able to do in the despatches.

I fear that what it will come to at last is a diminution of our relative importance and influence in Germany, and that our position will be much embarrassed. We must, therefore, insist the more strongly upon maintaining our due status in the smaller council, and we must particularly avoid making any concessions in the matter of the Presidency. It is difficult to come to an agreement on this point with his Majesty, for not only is he always inclined to give a favourable acceptance to every proposal coming from this quarter, *but his one most fervent wish is to set the Roman Imperial crown upon the head of the Emperor of Austria.* I, however, told him my opinion pretty plainly, and I don't think he will ever find any Ministry willing to lend a hand to such a scheme. Austria must, at any rate, consent to *share* the authority in Germany with us, and must even leave the direction to us in certain things. If she won't do this, no serious understanding can be intended, and we must let her feel that we are well able to retire upon our base and that nothing can be done without us. I have stated my views on the subject quite openly in the second private despatch. The King does not quite agree, but he has given in. He was going to send me a memorandum to-day for you, which he had written himself, explaining *his* views in the matter, but it has not come yet, and I cannot keep the courier waiting any longer. If you receive it later, take it *cum grano salis*."

In another letter two days afterwards Bülow continues his complaints in the same strain :—

"His Majesty," he writes, "would not give up his intention of sending Count Brühl again to Olmütz (whence he had only just returned), merely to communicate to Schwarzenberg *sub rosa* the memorandum he has written, and of

which I have already apprised you. Count Brandenburg and I had some struggles with the King to get him to strike out at least one sentence at the end of this memorandum, where, after unfolding his plan, he says in conclusion: '*Let the Roman Imperial Majesty reign over the whole.*' We were obliged to declare straight out that we must oppose this. We also induced him to send the manuscript without a signature. He had already signed one copy of it with this sentence *en toutes lettres.* But we did not get any further than that, and we were particularly unsuccessful in persuading him to give up Brühl's Mission, nor could we get him to omit or to modify his plan for dividing Germany into '*duchies for the defence of the Empire*'—a thing which, if it were to come under consideration officially, I would *never* consent to, for he wants to let Bavaria have command of both the Hesses, and other things of that kind. I have arranged with Brühl that he shall confer with you first of all, and that he shall then read the P.M. (Promemoria) aloud, but not let it go out of his hands."

This letter was followed by a third, in which Bülow expresses his hot indignation at the behaviour of Schwarzenberg, who, after lengthy negotiations, suddenly put forward quite new proposals, as though no discussions had taken place.

"Dear Count,

"The semi-official paper I am sending you to-day will provide you with full information as to the outcome of Count Brühl's last mission. Prince Schwarzenberg, seeing we are minded to hold fast, in any agreement with Austria, to certain cardinal points which are inconvenient to him, now thinks fit to set aside everything we have been officially conferring about, and has fastened upon the King's ideas, taking from them and making of them

just what suits his policy. His proposals, duly analysed and stripped of all externals, are, nude crude, just these:

"1. The Frankfort National Assembly to be abolished and a counter revolution started.

"2. A committee of crowned heads to be constituted, which will take in hand the government of the Empire.

"3. All this to be carried out while Prussia, with Bavaria and Württemberg, sends an Army against Frankfort, in which Austria is to be "symbolically" represented.

"4. Everything else to be arranged afterwards—especially whether and on what lines a German constitution is to be created, what relation Austria is to bear to the rest of Germany, and what her position is to be with regard to Prussia, etc.

"Now, in my opinion, the following are the points we must secure for ourselves in the matter:

"1. That we shall have the honour to be the broom that sweeps out Germany on behalf of Austria and all the others who want to prevent anything being settled.

"2. That we shall be offered the sweepings, and

"3. That we shall be brought vis-à-vis with Austria and the four Kings, with whom, after we have destroyed the National Assembly, and have turned the petty princes out of doors, we will make no terms whatever.

"We positively cannot go on any longer in this way. I have already given in far too much, as it is, to the personal wishes and views of the King, and I am convinced we ought not to proceed a single step further on the road by which he and Prince Schwarzenberg want to lead us, unless we mean to give up all independent action in the German question. I set a very high value upon an agreement with Austria, but the price they demand of us is decidedly too dear. We must take what appears to us the right course, and go our way independently, for

time presses, and so far we have been unable to find any common basis of action with Austria. This is the aim of the Circular I am sending you to-day. It will not be well received, but we must get over that. We are at least as necessary to Austria as she is to us."

Meanwhile in Frankfort, after a heated debate, the motion brought forward by the "Grossdeutsch" party for the control of the Empire to be placed in the hands of a Directory of six members was rejected. A motion in committee, however, was carried, transferring the dignity to a reigning German Prince. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, things remained just were they were, owing to the divergences of opinion with regard to the rights and privileges to be enjoyed by this new Imperial dignity. At last, despite the uncertainty of affairs, the Prussian Ministry ventured on a rapprochement with the Prussophiles in Frankfort. The Circular Letter to the German Government drawn up by Camphausen, and submitted to the King for approval, suggested a smaller Federation of Germany under Prussia, and a further alliance of this new Federation with Austria. After long opposition the King, contrary to expectation, allowed this despatch to be sent.

In a semi-official communication from Bülow to Bernstorff on January 23rd, the latter is instructed to reject the proposal made by Austria for an immediate regulation of the Central Power by means of six princes, viz., Austria and the five kingdoms; at the same time he was to inform Schwarzenberg how serious must be the results for Germany and Prussia were the National Assembly to be abolished by military force, and how an understanding with Frankfort was necessary under any circumstances. Schwarzenberg, as Bernstorff says, was naturally much annoyed at this turn of affairs. But the Prince recog-

nized the situation to be one of danger for Austria's plans, and therefore, when his first anger was over, he pretended to be unconcerned, and gave it to be understood that Austria would reconcile herself to ideas of union under certain conditions, which conditions he, of course, again reserved to himself to define.

Bernstorff, writing on January 30th, says: "The Prince, upon my remarking in the course of the discussion that Austria evidently did not wish for a smaller alliance than the Confederation hitherto existing, *said that he was not at all against such a smaller alliance.* But when I replied that I accepted this admission, which he now made for the first time, he added that some exceptions might be granted in favour of Austria, and that at any rate it should be left open to her to join in later on, thus again revealing his objection to a smaller Federation being made without Austria."[1]

Bernstorff at once recognized that Schwarzenberg, in spite of his apparent complaisance, would leave no stone unturned to make the success of the Prussian Circular Despatch an impossibility. In fact, the Prince was negotiating secretly with Bavaria, Hanover, Württemberg, and Saxony, with the object of making a confederation against Prussia. A letter written by Bernstorff from Vienna to Bülow on February 6th contains a reference to this. Bülow answers later, February 9th, as follows:—

"This much is clear, that an attempt is being made by Austria to form an alliance with all the royal cabinets against us. I shall try to find out as soon as possible what is behind this, but naturally they will be very reserved with us and our envoys. Let me hear directly you find out anything more. Absolutely open dealing will be our

[1] Bernstorff's report of January 30th, 1849.

best defence against these intrigues. After all, we have quite a firm enough standing in Germany for us to be able to pursue our course independently, and if we pursue it frankly and openly, we shall have many allies; whereas the other Courts have no supporters in their own countries and not always in their Ministries, and they are unable to say exactly what they want to do. Since the promulgation of the Circular Despatch of the 23rd, I have been placed in an awkward position. Your report as to the reception it met with, in Austria, put the King into an indescribable state of mind. He declares everything is lost, *and that Prussia and Germany are ruined* because Austria has not come to terms.

". . . . On Monday he called a State Council, and catechized us for five hours, most of it being a *mise en accusation* of myself. I, meanwhile, contested every inch of my ground, and the Cabinet stood by me faithfully. Personally I am placed in a position of incessant combat, which cannot be persisted in for long.

"As I told you lately, I have made the use you permitted me of your excellent private despatches, and have given them to the King to read. *He says that this mistrust of Austria is all madness.*

"What is one to say, or to hope? The King actually wished to send a mission of indemnity to Olmütz! and to revert to the plan of the Committee of Kings, the grouping system, etc.! Naturally the Ministers declared against this unanimously: but we come back to the Cabinet question every time—how long can one go on like this?"

Soon afterwards Bülow handed in his resignation. History has not so far done justice to the tenacity with which this statesman upheld and defended the old Prussia tradi-

tions. Not that he was innocent of blunders to begin with. His strong antipathy to the National Assembly led him at first to oppose it more violently than was prudent, in view of Prussia's diplomatic position with regard to Austria. Later he realized his mistake, and then he devoted his whole power to rectifying it.

Owing to Bülow's retirement, Count Bernstorff lost the firm hold he had on the Berlin Cabinet, for this Minister was the only friend he had in political circles who was capable of appreciating the frank and unbiased judgment of his despatches, and they were now viewed with a mistrust and prejudice against which his old friend, Count von Schleinitz[1] thought it right to warn him. "I know your views," he writes to Bernstorff on February 24th, from Hanover, "and I share them entirely. They serve but to strengthen me in my conviction that wherever it is a question of energetically defending Prussia's honour and Prussia's interests, no one is better fitted for the post than yourself. But for that very reason I do not wish to see your efficiency diminished in a position, in which, for the moment, I regard you as indispensable. Permit me, as an old friend, to make a remark which perhaps is very much out of place, so that I only venture to submit it to you as perchance worthy of consideration. It is this: I should advise your revealing as little of your *personal* sentiments as is consistent with a proper objective representation of affairs, and should recommend you always to express them in the mildest form, allowing facts as far as possible to speak for themselves. This, if I mistake not, will render your position *on both sides easier*, and will

[1] Alexander Gustave Adolf Count von Schleinitz, b. December 29th, 1807, at Blankenburg, in the Harz. He succeeded Heinrich von Arnim as Minister for Foreign Affairs, but resigned a week later. In May, 1849, he negotiated the armistice with the Danes. He then became Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Brandenburg Ministry.

not prevent you from casting a decisive word into the scale at the critical moment."

Bernstorff's difficulties were increased by the appointment of General von Prokesch-Osten as Minister to Berlin in the place of Count Trauttmannsdorff, who had hitherto been the Austrian representative there. The General was a diplomat versed in all the finesses of a backstairs policy, and as soon as Count Bernstorff heard that it was intended to send him to Prussia, he uttered a warning against him. The caution, however, was in vain, Prokesch-Osten's appointment being confirmed, although Bernstorff gave Prince Schwarzenberg distinctly to understand that the new Minister would "not be likely to be acceptable in Berlin."

"I must presuppose," writes Bernstorff[1] to Arnim,[2] the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, "that General Prokesch von Osten is known to your Excellency, if not personally, at all events by report: therefore I do not think it necessary to go further into his character. I will only beg respectfully to make the general observation: *that he has always been described to me as a political intriguer*, and that he inspires but little confidence in me or in any right-minded persons.

"I was told yesterday, for instance, on very good and reliable authority, that he possesses in the highest degree the talent for flattery; that as a young man he managed to gain the special esteem of the late Prince Schwarzenberg, the Field-Marshal, and that ever since he has been

[1] Bernstorff to Arnim, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Vienna, February 27th, 1849.

[2] Heinrich Friedrich, Count von Arnim-Heinrichsdorff-Werbelow, born September 23rd, 1791, at Werbelow in the Uckermark. Prussian Minister at Brussels in 1831; in Paris, 1841; etc. Accepted the portfolio for Foreign Affairs on February 24th, 1849, in the Brandenburg Ministry. Resigned May 3rd, 1849.

regarded as an intimate friend and protégé of the Schwarzenberg family.

"Under present circumstances I think I may venture on the supposition that Count Trauttmannsdorff was not efficient enough to satisfy them here, and that therefore they wanted to choose a cleverer and more active diplomatist, in order to win back lost ground."

Arnim, who certainly did not err on the side of hostility to Austria, was entirely of Bernstorff's opinion with regard to Prokesch-Osten, and in a private letter of March 10th, 1849, he says: "We are very sorry that Trauttmannsdorff is going, *and we would rather have had some one else in his place.* But there was no ground for refusing him."

So far, Schwarzenberg had been obliged to proceed with circumspection. In spite of the Austrian victory at Kapolan, the war still raged in Hungary. Now, however, good news had come from Italy, and after Radetzky's success against Carlo Alberto at Novara, the Government in Vienna breathed freely once more. Schwarzenberg forthwith coolly announced to the Ministry at Frankfort that Austria had given herself an independent and definite Constitution, and that Germany would have to recognize this fact, and simply *take the whole of Austria into* the Confederation, a thing which naturally it was impossible to do without altering the Constitution of the Empire. The indignation aroused by this intelligence in Frankfort contributed strongly to further the aims of the Prussian Imperialist party, notwithstanding the opposition of the Grossdeutsch element. It was decided by a majority of two hundred and ninety votes to offer the Imperial Crown to the King of Prussia. As to the impression created at Vienna by this news, Bernstorff tells Arnim that the whole proceeding had "of course made a great and disagreeable sensation," but that the tone of the Austrian Government

had become rather less assertive of late, so that it would be well to strike now while the iron was hot.

"The Prince," he continues, "repeated to-day what he has already told me several times lately, namely, that the King has only to express his wishes to be certain of Austria's agreeing to them, and that Austria is desirous of coming to terms and uniting with Prussia at any price, so as to create a practical workable constitution. The Prince, as I have had the honour to remark, does not, of course, reckon under this head the existence of a single authority, such as a Parliament with legislative powers, or a responsible Ministry at Frankfort, these being entirely at variance with the idea of Austria's sovereignty, and her integrity as a state. But so far as the forms and attributes of the supreme federal power are concerned, I am persuaded *that the Imperial Cabinet will be ready to agree to anything that is proposed by Prussia.*"[1]

Unfortunately, this hint, that tact and diplomacy should be employed to make the most of the situation, was not fully understood in Berlin. And yet all thoughtful people must have perceived that every improvement in the position of Austria which had appealed successfully to the Tsar for help against Hungary could not but do harm to Prussia's prospects, and that the greatest promptitude of action was necessary. On April 3rd King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. declined the offer of the Imperial crown. There is no occasion here to go into the pros and cons of this matter, in which decision was difficult. This much, however, is certain, that Prussia once more failed to take advantage of the situation. Even if they did not wish in Berlin to accept the crown, they ought at all events to have postponed the refusal of it until a sure pledge of some sort had been received from Austria that Prussia's

[1] Bernstorff's report to Arnim, Vienna, March 31st, 1849.

power and position should be established and fortified. But the spirit of *laisser faire et passer* which pervaded Prussian policy on the German question rendered the Government incapable of intimidating a man like Schwarzenberg in the slightest degree. He now recalled the Austrian delegates from Frankfort, declaring that Austria would never admit any foreign legislation. The consultations with Prussia were apparently only continued in order to gain time, and not with any view of coming to an understanding.

Prussia then began to negotiate with the German states individually for the foundation of a smaller Confederacy, and Bernstorff deluded himself with the hope that it might yet be possible to secure by treaty Prussia's suzerainty of North Germany, even though it might be at the cost of conceding a dual government. He did not want a loosely constructed Federation which would only be a drag upon Prussia, but a close incorporation of the smaller states with Prussia in so far as their military and economic relation was concerned. To this project of his we shall allude more explicitly later on. He was firmly persuaded that if it were once understood in Vienna that Prussia was in earnest and had a definite aim in her negotiations, then Austria would give way even on essential points.

From Bernstorff's Despatch to Arnim.

"VIENNA, *April 18th*, 1849.

"The one main idea of Austria all along in the German question has been, as I have told the Prince, to prevent an increase in Prussia's power at any price. In order to do this, she has made propositions to us which merely aimed at bringing about a relative diminution of that power. How can we join hands in such a design, or come to any understanding? Since Austria cannot hope

to compass her ends by continuing her hitherto negative policy, she seems to want to strike out on a more positive track, and so is recognizing the right to make closer alliances within the Confederation, and by vindicating that right in her own case hopes to set up a counterpoise to Prussia by a separate Confederation in South Germany. Perhaps, as the 'Lloyd' says, this is the best way out of the difficulty without creating a breach between Austria and Germany, and it will at least preserve the general Germanic Confederation intact. Under present circumstances, and in view of the practically dual policy of two of the great German powers, the idea of a real unity for the ideal Empire is obviously a mere dream. On the other hand, if the dual policy were to provide a greater consolidation of German interests, and if the two great powers with the small states that gravitate towards them were to join hands amicably to form one great whole, then Germany could hold together for purposes of offence and defence, and Prussia would obtain what is undeniably needful for her safety from a military and strategical point; her commercial interests also would be preserved."

Bernstorff thought very highly of the Zollverein, but he opined that, should it be dissolved by the imprudence of the South Germans, Prussia would have to include the north coast countries in her tariff system.

From Bernstorff's Despatch to Brandenburg.

"VIENNA, *May 21st*, 1849.

"The conditions we must obtain for Prussia are these: *A Central Power to be found for the entire Germanic Confederation, in which Prussia must be given a much larger share than heretofore. Her influence to be increased by a lesser alliance between herself and those small states*

lying within her jurisdiction and which for her own safety ought to be subordinate to her, especially from a military and strategical point of view.

"As regards this Central Power, your Excellency will kindly notice from Herr Heinrich von Canitz's despatch, that Prince Schwarzenberg gives preference to a Directory of Three; Bavaria, too, is working indefatigably for this. *I believe, however, that the Imperial Cabinet would also be found inclined to favour a Directory composed of Austria and Prussia alone, if we were to insist upon it;* and in view of the exigencies of the present moment, a fully unconditional authority bestowed by Austria and Prussia would certainly have the effect of bringing about that freedom of action and control which is required. In any case, the Triad seems to me to be a most disadvantageous arrangement for Prussia, inasmuch as South Germany would be very much handicapped as a third voter by the predominance of Bavaria; so that while a third of the influence rested with North Germany, two-thirds would rest with the South, and moreover, with Austria and Bavaria, precisely the two powers most hostile to Prussia. My unprejudiced opinion, therefore, is that a Directory of six or seven members, with an alternation of the Presidency between the two great powers, would be *a much more desirable arrangement.*

"The aggrandisement of Prussia's power by a lesser alliance between herself and certain of the small states, or an incorporation of the latter, is not a thing which Austria will try to prevent if she can insure, first that the Germanic Confederation will thereby be preserved, and secondly, that there shall be no Federation of all other German states under Prussia's leadership. From all accounts received here, Austria is being supported in respect to this last by Bavaria and Hanover. Neither of

them wish to submit to Prussia's supremacy, and are appealing to Austria to help and protect them against it. I cannot judge in what terms these governments may have expressed themselves to ours, still less do I allow myself to pass an opinion as to whether it is for Prussia's interests to carry out the Federation in the form projected, and contrary to the wishes of Austria, Bavaria, and Hanover.

"It would mean that the seat of government would be outside the kingdom of Prussia, and that there would be a parliament and a responsible Imperial Ministry other than the Prussian Ministry. In any case it seems to me *that Prussia would be abundantly compensated for the small compass of a lesser Federation, in that her Government would have actual control of the affairs of such a Federation; that the seat of the common Government would be at Berlin, and that beyond this Prussian Parliament assembled at Berlin, no other would assemble outside the kingdom which could have any influence upon Prussian affairs.* In short, the centre of gravity for the Prussian Monarchy, as well as for the states combining with her in a lesser Federation, would be, not Frankfort, or wherever else you please, but Berlin, the true historical and traditional centre, and the Kings of Prussia would continue to reside there, as they always have done."

Bernstorff wished his Government to rest content with actual and practical results instead of pursuing a policy which might later on prove Utopian. His wishes, however, were not destined to be fulfilled. Now that Austria and Bavaria had withdrawn from the debates on the subject of the Constitution, a fresh opportunity was offered for taking up a firm attitude which might have resulted advantageously for Prussia, this state having just con-

cluded with Saxony and Hanover the so-called "Three Kings' League," intended to be the basis of a Constitution to be called into existence later on. But the arrangement left a door of escape open to the contracting parties, as the King of Prussia would not encroach upon the freedom of decision possessed by the "sovereign" states of Germany. This though she had it in her own hands to impose her wishes upon the small states whom her troops were everywhere defending from the dangers of the revolution.

Count Bernstorff received the following letter from Radetzky in answer to his congratulations on the military successes of Austria. It is given as showing how strong was the feeling of comradeship with Prussia which still existed in the best part of the Austrian army.

Radetzky[1] *to Bernstorff.*

"HEAD-QUARTERS, MILAN, *May 26th*, 1849.

"I beg your Excellency's acceptance of my warmest thanks for the kind words of sympathy and recognition with which you have honoured my small services on this occasion. That I should be fated in my old age to play a part in the drama now unfolding before our eyes, I look upon as a thing ordained of God, and as a warrant that we shall emerge victorious from the struggle for justice and order. Germany will arise stronger and greater from these agitations, if the rulers of Prussia and of Austria will but unite to meet the tide of revolution. For the loyalty of their armies I believe I can vouch.

"The memory of the years of 1813, 1814, 1815 is not extinct; on the contrary, it has sprung up with renewed

[1] Johann Wenzel Anton Franz Carl, Field-Marshal Count Radetzky. Born 1766, died 1858.—Tr.

vigour, and the young soldiers listen eagerly to their old comrades' stories of those glorious days.

"Allow me to express my pleasure at the privilege which this opportunity affords me of, at least, addressing your Excellency by letter.

"RADETZKY."

Bernstorff, writing to Count Hatzfeldt[1] when the Prussian troops had victoriously opposed the revolutionists at numerous places in Germany, says: "With such a splendid army as ours, one with which, I am convinced, no other in the world can compare, and which, despite the great fear and criticism it evoked when first raised, has borne itself in such a manner in the face of the severest trials a military force ever had to endure; with such an army, I say, we can be what we will. You and I, my dear friend, doubted in December whether we need have yielded so far in our concessions as to our constitution. Even so do I doubt now very much whether it was necessary to make such frantic sacrifices to democratic principles, with regard to the suggestions for a new Imperial Constitution. I will not presume to pass any deprecatory opinion upon the work as a whole. It may contain just as many germs of future greatness as germs of dissolution; but I could have wished the former without the latter. History will decide, and history is not made by men but by events, which no human eye can pretend to foresee!"

Unfortunately, Bernstorff's efforts were again misunderstood by the bureaucrats in Berlin, and he was perpetually reproached for showing too great a "mistrust" of Austria. The Minister, Count von Schleinitz, now undertook for the second time to issue warnings. "I share your opinion,"

[1] Bernstorff to Hatzfeldt. Vienna, June 8th, 1849. Private letter. (Count Maximilian von Hatzfeldt, born 1813, died 1859. Prussian Minister in Paris 1849.)

he writes to Bernstorff, "that the force of an honest conviction based on an insight into affairs seldom fails to make a certain impression, even upon those who are of a different way of thinking. However, this truth loses its practical significance if those who think differently cannot and will not allow themselves to be convinced. It does not seem to me altogether improbable that this is in some measure the case here as well as in Vienna with respect to our mutual positions on the German question." He goes on to recommend Bernstorff to make a show of granting greater concessions than heretofore. Bernstorff would have been only too glad to follow this friendly advice, but how was it possible for him under the circumstances to conceal his real opinions? Very soon after receiving his friend's letter, he found himself once more compelled, in a confiential letter to Count Brandenburg, the Prime Minister, to set forth the whole situation in a very gloomy light, expressing, moreover, his conviction that in Vienna they were "only waiting for the end of the Hungarian campaign to speak in yet more meaning terms." Only two alternatives were, he thought, possible: "Either to come to terms with Austria and only assert the German question so far as could be done without creating a rupture; or else to make a firm resolve to advance in spite of Austria's wishes and threats." And then, of course, there would always be the danger of a war with Russia.[1]

Just then the Grand Duke of Baden appealed to Prussia for help against the revolution. The Archduke Johann, hearing of this, and wishing to render all aid on Prussia's part superfluous, at once offered the assistance of an Austrian corps and some Imperial troops, to wit, Bavarians and Württembergers. The Grand Duke, however, refused

[1] From Bernstorff's despatch to Brandenburg. Vienna, July 5th, 1849.

this proposal at once, whereupon, at the beginning of June the Prussian troops advanced against the insurgents. The superiority of the Prussian soldiers was manifested at every turn, and so great was the impression produced by the victories of General von Peucker, that the plan for an "Imperial Constitution" suggested by Prussia, and approved by the leaders of the Imperialist party assembled at Gotha in June, was adopted by most of the small states. The following conversation took place between Bernstorff and Schwarzenberg at this time. It is thus recorded in a confidential despatch from Bernstorff to the Prime Minister, Count von Brandenburg.

"VIENNA, *July 10th*, 1849.

"In the course of our last conversation, I asked the Prince whether he did not think it would be better to have a Constitution on the Prussian plan—only with a Directory instead of a single head—and whether he would object to this, even though Austria would not herself be able to take any share in it. Upon his giving a favourable reply, I said: '*Then it is wholly and solely the supposed increase in Prussia's power which you wish to prevent!* Otherwise it must be a matter of complete indifference to you what sort of Federation the other German states make among themselves.'

"The Prince: 'Oh no! We are bound to maintain the sovereignty of the German states which rely on our protection.'

"I: 'But no one is coercing them, and, besides, what benefit would it be to their sovereignty if, instead of being ruled by a monarchical executive, they were to be subject to a Directory which, according to the plans proposed by Hanover, would not take any instructions from its rulers? It would be a perfectly independent republican authority set over the Monarchies.'

"The Prince: 'Germany always has been a sort of republic, and the individuality of the states would be more threatened by having a monarch at the head of affairs, than by a Directory.'

"I: 'Then Germany must altogether renounce the idea of a Federation, for to wish this without wishing Prussia to be at the head, is impossible. Surely you do not seriously demand that Prussia should give up her position as a European power, and become subject to a Directory with a *foreign* Ministry as well as a *foreign* parliament? You cannot and will not subject any portion of your own Empire to such a government. How then can you expect Prussia to subject her entire kingdom to it! A German Federation without Prussia is impossible; therefore, if Germany desires such a Federation, as she certainly has done up till now, then she must desire to have Prussia at the head of it, for in any other form it is morally inconceivable.'

"The Prince: 'But no one wants Prussia's supremacy. The small states are only intimidated into asking for it, and the larger ones would never give in to it. Besides, it would not be any good to you yourselves, as I have often told you.'

"I: 'I must own that I myself, from a Prussian standpoint, have till now been doubtful about this plan of a constitution on account of the immense sacrifice which Prussia will have to make, a sacrifice which is all the greater because her position is an entirely different one from that ever occupied by any of the other states. But when I see such ill-will on every side, *I begin to think that really we must* have made a great coup.'

"The Prince. 'It is not ill-will, and if you were to succeed you would really gain a great deal. But you will not succeed,' etc.

"With reference to the protest against Austrian troops being sent into Baden, I told the Prince that this was the natural consequence of the Central Power being no longer recognized by us, though still maintained by Austria; that we, in default of any legal federal authority, were rendering assistance to Baden as between state and state, and therefore we could not brook interference from a third power. Schwarzenberg said that General von Peucker's corps also consisted of Imperial troops, and yet it was recognized and permitted by us; why then could not Austrian troops take part just as well? Besides, the Central Power had not ordered the Austrian troops to do anything but protect Württemberg against possible invasion by the insurgents; that the King of Württemberg himself desired it, and so it was only natural for the Austrians to occupy Baden territory. *It really looked, he said, as if we did not want Württemberg to be protected at all, so that it might fall a victim to the revolutionists, and give us an opportunity of saving it.* This, he thought, was like throwing a man into the water for the sake of rescuing him. I remarked that this was not the reason of the Prince of Prussia's objecting to Austria helping Baden, that the real reason was the one mentioned above; and that I could not understand why the Austrians need occupy Baden instead of remaining in Württemberg territory. The Prince retorted: 'Have we actually got as far as this? Surely one country belongs to the Confederation as much as another!' And he took an opportunity of adding the words with which I concluded my secret report of the 8th inst.: 'The next thing will be that we shall be firing upon each other.'

"Although the Prince, in course of conversation, did say: 'I hope circumstances will draw us together again,' still one cannot deny that expressions such as the above lead

one to imagine *the possibility of a real rupture and actual hostilities occurring between Prussia and Austria.* Take also, in conjunction with the Prince's remarks, the official utterances of the Austrian Cabinet, and those of its semi-official organ, the public press, and finally, take the language adopted by one and all of the German diplomats accredited here, who are making a dead set at us, either at the instigation of the governments, or as merely echoing the views of the Austrian Government. Prince Schwarzenberg himself has often said to me: 'Our strength, it is well known, lies in waiting'; or, 'our policy always abides by essentially the same traditions.' But this policy of the House of Austria has always been like that of the Roman Curia—never to give up a single right or a single claim, but to wait till it has the power to repossess itself of what it has lost. There is no doubt this is the meaning of the 'waiting' of which Prince Schwarzenberg speaks."

The most serious aspect of the affair for Prussia was that the friendship between Austria and Russia was increasing from week to week, and that a very favourable change in Austria's position in Hungary had taken place since the Hungarian army had laid down its arms at Vilagos. Contrary to expectation, however, Schwarzenberg at the moment showed himself more accommodating than one could have expected; first, because he wanted to come to an understanding with the middle states; and, secondly, because he learned that the Tsar Nicholas, though not wishing to favour Prussia, was anxious to avoid a collision between the two great German Powers. Negotiations followed for a temporary Central Power, to be established by Austria and Prussia conjointly, which should take over the authority of the Imperial Administrator till May,

1850. Austria and Prussia each proposed a special scheme for this. Schwarzenberg's project was above all to insure Austria's presidency in this Provisional Central Power, and Prussia's *right* to establish a smaller alliance was not even to be mentioned. He also wished to settle the question of plenipotentiaries entirely to the advantage of Austria.

Thereupon Prussia handed in her counter-proposition, which insisted upon *absolute equality*, and demanded the recognition, in some form or another, of the smaller Federation. Schleinitz himself greatly mistrusted this programme, which was supported by the majority of the Prussian Ministry, and he wrote to Bernstorff that it was a contradiction to negotiate with the small states for a Union, and at the same time to be negotiating with Austria for a Provisional Central Power.

It was obvious that the greatest confusion would arise if two combinations, (a) *the Provisional Central Authority*, and (b) *the Smaller Federation*, were both to have the right of passing resolutions on the subject of a German Constitution. It was imperative to come to a decision. Past experience having proved that longer delay could only injure Prussia's position, whilst ameliorating that of Austria, Bernstorff boldly resolved to try at least *something* for Prussian interests, and on September 30th he signed a Convention, *the basis of which was absolute equality of rights for the two great German powers.* On September 29th he tells Schwarzenberg he is aware that by this action he is exceeding his instructions, and therefore he reserves to his Government the right eventually to refuse to ratify the Convention.[1]

[1] *Note from Bernstorff to Schwarzenberg.*

"VIENNA, *September 29th*, 1849.

"Your Highness,

"In consequence of the negotiations which have taken place between us concerning the formation of a new Provisional Central Organ for the German Federation, I think it right not to defer any longer coming to an understanding,

Sybel, in his "Foundation of the German Empire," censures this convention, which he says was tantamount to an acknowledgment by Prussia that the old law of Confederation still existed, and thus was fraught with dangers. For this he blames Count Bernstorff, of whom otherwise he makes no mention in connection with the affair. The treaty, however, must really be viewed in quite another light. The two contracting states were by virtue of this arrangement *placed on an absolutely equal footing in Germany. Austria was even induced by Bernstorff to renounce her claim to the perpetual presidency of the Central Committee.* With reference to the terms of the treaty, Sybel himself writes: "Hitherto Austria had always stipulated that the Middle States should have a share in the new Provisional Central Power. This demand was now given up, and in the proposed Dual Supremacy Prussia was accorded absolutely equal rights with Austria. Again, Austria had up till now obstinately refused to recognize the Prussian Federation. In the draft of the treaty, this point, though not explicitly mentioned, seemed nevertheless virtually conceded by a sentence which left the question of the Constitution free to be settled by the Governments."[1]

Later on, in the sixties, when Austria again obstinately

which is most desirable for the whole of Germany, and upon my own responsibility to bring the matter to a conclusion. In accepting, however, the last scheme which your Excellency has communicated to me, and in agreeing to certain points, particularly those bearing on the representation of the other states in the federal committee, I am going beyond what my instructions permit. In order to further as much as possible the cause of the German Fatherland, a cause of such immense importance for us all, I am declaring myself ready to sign the agreement in its present form. But, nevertheless, I am compelled to reserve to my government the right of eventually refusing ratification of the same, in especial with regard to those points which, as your Excellency is aware, do not accord with my instructions. Meanwhile, I venture to hope that this contingency may not arise. . . ."

The full text to the agreement is not preserved among Bernstorff's papers.

[1] von Sybel, "Foundation of the German Empire," vol. i., 346, 347.

insisted upon claiming the perpetual presidency of the Federal Council, Bernstorff in a despatch to Werther, the Prussian Minister in Vienna, alludes retrospectively to the negotiations which took place at that time. He adduces the fact of Austria having renounced the presidency of the Temporary Committee in 1849, and he continues as follows: "By virtue of the agreement concluded between myself and Prince Felix Schwarzenberg on September 30th, 1849, touching the Provisional Central Committee of the Federation, the two German Powers undertook, on an absolutely equal footing, the administration of the Central Power for the Germanic Confederation in the name of all the governments."

It remained to be seen what the Prussian government would make of this scheme. Were any effectual result to be attained, it must be on the ground of Dual Supremacy, and North Germany must, at all events, be subjected to Prussia. South Germany could be left for the present. Bismarck made a similar offer of a Dual Supremacy to the Austrian Government, previous to 1866, before it decided to settle the matter by recourse to arms. Had the treaty been interpreted in this sense it would have been a matter of comparative indifference whether it tallied with certain paragraphs of the old law of Confederation or not. A Dual Government would have been productive of most important results for Prussia, or at least of results more important than were obtained by merely restoring the old Confederation.

In view of the wavering and uncertain policy of Prussia and her perpetual concessions to Schwarzenberg, Bernstorff attempted to provide her with a point d'appui which should prevent her slipping yet further down the incline, and to give her a firm foothold, though it should be at the sacrifice of many dreams hitherto cherished,

but for the moment apparently impossible of realization. Of course he could not foresee how utterly the Berlin Government would fail to take advantage of what he offered. In strong hands the treaty was a sword with which great things might have been accomplished for the German cause. In feeble ones the best weapon is ever but a worthless toy.

Bernstorff's action was misunderstood in Berlin, and he was, of course, attacked by the supporters of the Union. The King at first also expressed his alarm, saying that the step his Minister had taken sacrificed Prussia's allies.[1] As a matter of fact, it was Bernstorff who made the sacrifice, and it was only because of his thorough conviction that the Union would not be maintained in Berlin that he had signed the Convention, and had exposed himself to the hatred of his political opponents. To strengthen and extend Prussia's supremacy in the north, and to ensure for it a great future, were considerations which weighed more cogently with him than any others. It was, therefore, a satisfaction to him that the King soon expressed entire approval of his actions.

The best commentary upon Bernstorff's proceedings at this time is supplied in his letters to his friends and relations, especially in one to Hatzfeldt, which is here given, as bearing on the subject, though it is dated in November.

[1] "Memoirs of Leopold von Gerlach," vol. I., p. 370. Radowitz was, according to Gerlach's report, in favour of the ratification, but he thought the Unionist Council should be consulted.

In the government council before whom the treaty was laid, "there were," writes Schleinitz, "only three voices against it: Thuringia, the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and Oldenburg. The others assented to it, expressing themselves in favour of it." Schleinitz to Bernstorff, Berlin, October 10th, 1849.

Bernstorff to Hatzfeldt.

"VIENNA, *November 21st*, 1849.

[Private Letter.]

"My position here is essentially improved by the conclusion of the agreement of September 30th, which I took upon my own shoulders in great measure, and despatched to Berlin as a *fait accompli*. I was so convinced of the necessity for such an agreement, and of the advantages to be derived from a division of authority, that I did not hesitate to act wholly upon my own responsibility, and to conclude a treaty which would never have been possible but for my decision. By so doing I made the ultra German Federal party in our government very angry; but the more reasonable among the Ministers were doubly grateful to me. Our situation before this was so perilous, that no human being could foresee whither it might tend. *It seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, that the only practical and feasible thing is for the bare fact of a divided power in Germany to be recognized under some legal form.* My position will now be almost worse than before, since we are insisting on a Reichstag or Federal Parliament. I wish for the thing aimed at, namely, the hegemony of Prussia in North and Central Germany, but as for the *means* employed I do not approve of them in and for themselves, and moreover, I doubt their conducing to the object in view. *I think with you that it is by our good swords alone our power can and must be increased*, and I set my hopes much more upon events than upon persons and their whims. *By negotiation we shall never overcome the particularism of the middle and small states, nor the jealousy of the great ones*, and obstacles will be put in our way at every turn. My opinion is that Austria and Russia should lend us a

helping hand towards that consolidation of Germany which is so indispensable for us, and thereby strengthen and confirm our alliance. But the unfortunate part of it is just this: that especially Austria, by her ineradicable jealousy and her absolute hostility to any larger unification of Germany which might augment Prussia's power and influence, is doing the very thing she professedly wishes to prevent, namely, driving us forcibly into the arms of the revolution.

"But things being as they are, I am of opinion that we had better abstain from a course of action which the faithlessness of our allies renders wholly unprofitable, and which leads to nothing but a sort of parody. Having given irrefragable proofs of our desire for a united Germany, we shall do well to give up further endeavours for the present. It would be best for us to hold back a bit, to insist on *our claim to half the supreme Federal control*, and to devote our efforts principally to subduing the revolution, and restoring the strength of Prussia if this be still possible. Probably in the future we shall not have another chance of making such good use of our power."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"VIENNA, *September 30th*, 1849.

". . . . To-day I have signed the most important public act of my life, namely, an agreement with regard to a new Central Power. I have done a great deal upon my own responsibility, but have done so with the full conviction that my action will not be disavowed."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"VIENNA, *October 13th*, 1849.

"Yesterday morning I received the ratification of the agreement of September 30th, and have delivered it to-day.

My friend and chief, Schleinitz, speaking of my action, says: 'After I had in some measure got over my first alarm, I could not but approve entirely of your having, under the unusual circumstances, taken upon yourself the equally unusual responsibility of an independent decision. I am glad, on my account and on yours, that you have decided boldly, thus rendering an essential service to the great cause you have in hand.

"'That section of the Cabinet whose opinion you most esteem fully recognizes this, and his Majesty himself, as you may imagine, is highly pleased with your conduct, in spite of his previous misgivings!'

"So you see I may be quite satisfied with the way things have turned out. Besides, I had such a full conviction that, even were my action to be disavowed, of which there was every chance, I had nothing to be ashamed of, but rather everything to be proud of in the matter.

"What the results would have been had this unlucky division of Germany into two great hostile camps continued, there is no telling. All this summer *I have had the most difficult and painful position here that a diplomat can well have*, but I have always kept my end in view, and now, by God's help, I have in part attained it. . . ."

On September 20th a son was born to Bernstorff. 'We have been made happy by the birth of a fine, strong, healthy boy at 6.30 this morning," he tells his mother. "The 'Graferl' is larger than the other children were when they were born, and has very pronounced features. Little Therese was wild with delight at her youngest brother, and would not rest till she was allowed actually to touch his face with her little hands."

The King graciously consented to become godfather to the child. His letter on this occasion runs as follows:—

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Bernstorff.

[Autograph Letter.]

"SANSSOUCI, *September 28th*, 1849.

"I congratulate you heartily, my dear Count, upon the birth of a son, and beg you to convey my congratulations also to the Countess, whose hand I kiss. I thank you both for wishing me to be godfather to the child, and am pleased and gratified to accept the position. I shall, of course, be quite willing for you to represent me at the service. However, if there is anyone else in Vienna whom you would like to have as my representative, I give you every authority to appoint him in my name. My sincere thanks for your kind letter. It gave me great pleasure. May God grant you much happiness in your little boy, and make him like his father and mother.

"FRIEDRICH WILHELM."

Bernstorff writes to his mother on October 8th, 1849, and sends her a copy of the King's charming letter. The little fellow was called Friedrich Wilhelm after his godfather. Bernstorff complains to his mother of his own health, and says that he feels a great need of change. The last few years, with all their hard work, and incessant excitement, had so wrought upon his nerves that a long rest was absolutely necessary. Another letter to his mother, dated November 16th, 1849, speaks of a visit paid by the Queen of Prussia to Countess Bernstorff.

"When the Queen was here in Vienna, Anna was not able to go into society at all. . . . She wanted to try and see the Queen at Schönbrunn the last day. The Queen would not, however, allow this, and most kindly came to call on Anna instead, and saw the children She

was very much struck by the size of little Friedrich Wilhelm, and said she should tell his royal godfather about him. She was altogether very agreeable, kind and pleasant, and she is so little aged that she is by far the best looking of the five sisters."

His little son was the greatest delight to Bernstorff, and in a letter to Hatzfeldt of November 21st, from Vienna, he alludes to the child: "Now to answer your questions about my family. Our small Friedrich Wilhelm is the third child. The second is the little girl who was born last year. I should be quite content with no more than this trio, who are an indescribable joy to us. My wife's parents came to us this morning for a few weeks; my father-in-law we had not seen for four years. He is much delighted with his grandchildren, the eldest of whom can already read and write French! . . ."

But a profound sorrow was soon to succeed this great happiness. It seemed, indeed, as though Bernstorff was fated to experience in Vienna all the bitterest trials of life.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"VIENNA, *February 10th*, 1849.

"I would rather tell you at once myself, the painful tidings which must needs be told. *God has called our darling Fritzchen to Himself.* The fine, strong little fellow died this morning at nine o'clock after terrible convulsions lasting between twenty and twenty-eight hours. . . . I had to go to bed for an hour or so on account of bad sore-throat, etc. Anna, however, did not leave the little one's bedside, and we both were there to watch him draw his last breath."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"VIENNA, *March 30th*, 1850.

"One cannot blind oneself to the gravity and danger of the present moment, but we, and all belonging to us, are in God's hands, so we must not and will not let our courage and our hope sink. Every one must do his part towards bringing about a better state of things. An immense share of responsibility rests on me, and I fervently pray God to strengthen me, and to bless my efforts. . . . Up till now, I have succeeded by God's help in keeping or gaining the confidence of both parties, and that, of course, means a great deal, when it is a question of preventing things coming to extremes. As for harmonizing conflicting interests and passions, that I have not as yet succeeded in doing, and God only knows whether I ever shall. . . ."

CHAPTER V

EVENTS PRECEDING THE OLMÜTZ CONVENTION—THE DRESDEN CONFERENCE

Further negotiations for a Provisional Central Power—Prussia and the Union—The Diet summoned by Austria—Bernstorff interpellates Schwarzenberg—Peace with Denmark—Bernstorff in Berlin—Schwarzenberg's proposal for a temporary government—It is refused in Berlin—Friction between Russia and Austria; Schwarzenberg's manœuvres—Bernstorff's warnings as to the warlike intentions of Austria and her allies—Friendly relations established between Russia and Austria—Affairs of Hesse Cassel—Bernstorff's illness—Goes with the Countess to Italy—The Warsaw Conference—The situation in Prussia—Resignation of Radowitz—Bernstorff refuses office as Minister for Foreign Affairs—Manteuffel—Bernstorff again ill—Bronnzell—Preliminaries to the Olmütz Convention—The Olmütz Articles—Schwarzenberg insists on Bernstorff's recall—Bernstorff disputes with Manteuffel—The Dresden Conference.

THE first months of the new year 1850 brought with them further fruitless negotiations on the subject of the German Central Power—fruitless, because they were merely carried on by Schwarzenberg with the object of gaining time for the execution of his secret plans. His tactics were facilitated by Prussia herself, who neither enforced the terms of the Convention of September 30th, nor exhibited any serious desire to promote the cause of the Union. In the spring of this year, Schwarzenberg took the opportunity of bringing forward a motion for a Provisional Convocation of the Diet in Berlin, and he eventually gained his point, although Schleinitz resisted his intentions for some time, fearing the unpopularity of such a measure, and vainly stipulating for a

recognition of the Union on the part of Austria. A few days after this meeting of the Diet had been agreed to, the Union was formally concluded in Erfurt. This new creation, with which were bound up so many hopes of the noblest German patriots, was doomed to an early death from the first.

But the new arrangement did not yet satisfy Schwarzenberg, since it assured common action on the part of both great powers. He therefore, issued a Circular Note on April 19th, addressed to all the states with the exception of Prussia, and summoned the Diet to Frankfort in the name of Austria. Friedrich Wilhelm IV. was highly incensed at this, and ordered the Union to stand firm and defend itself. Nevertheless, only half measures were adopted, and even the visit of the Princes of the Union party to Berlin, fêted as they were in the most brilliant style, had no more effect than a flash in the pan. Still, it must be owned that it was not an easy thing for Prussia to take a high hand, since, in consequence of her attitude in the Schleswig-Holstein question, she had made herself enemies among most of the great powers.

With the object of putting an end to this intolerable state of affairs—there were rumours that Austria was already preparing for war—Bernstorff tried the effect of a personal appeal to Schwarzenberg. Reverting to the terms of the Convention of September 30th, he proposed that the question of the Constitution should be preliminarily arranged by means of a Commission, in which absolutely equal rights should be assigned to Austria and Prussia. But he insisted that, in any case, the dissolution of the Union should not take place until some definite conclusions had resulted from their deliberations. The most important points proposed by Bernstorff are summed up in three questions contained in a private despatch to Schwarzen-

berg, in which he tells the Prince he is ready to go himself to Berlin to use his influence in carrying out this programme. He adds to his despatch a private letter which is very characteristic of his ingenuous and sincere nature.

From Bernstorff's private letter to Schwarzenberg.

"HIETZING, *June 19th*, 1850.

"Allow me to enclose a few lines privately in my confidential despatch. You are aware that both the King and myself earnestly desire to bring about a peaceful understanding between the two powers, hitherto so closely allied. You know that I am ready and willing to hazard more than my position for the attainment of this end, but that I will only do so if fully convinced that the honour and true interests of my country will be maintained. Make this possible for me by lending a hand in the cause of peace, and answering my three questions in the affirmative. Your Highness must feel and know as well as I do that we have been forced, on both sides, into a situation which, if held too hard and fast, admits of no solution, and that we must both yield a few steps if any agreement or reconciliation is to become possible. Now this you are unable and unwilling to do, and so are we. When one meets with insurmountable obstacles of this kind, you must be aware, my dear Prince, as an able and experienced pilot, that one needs to sail round them, unless one would have the vessel go to pieces. And I am persuaded that we can sail round the present difficulties by coming to the understanding I propose upon the subject of the Provisional Government. By so doing, no question would be brought up, either of the Diet you have revived or of the Union we have started. When once the Provisional Government

is actually in existence, these two main questions will, I quite hope, be solved in the most natural way. *If you on your part will abstain from any further action with regard to the old Diet at Frankfort*, then I will do everything in my power to prevent any further progress of the Union in Berlin. It can then be arranged to carry out the definitive reconstruction of the Confederation in Frankfort in the same form as that of the Provisional Government; the result being that we shall be able to settle *what sort of smaller Union can find a place within the larger Confederation, and in what manner the respective wishes and demands of the two great Confederates can be adjusted.* When we consider the internal condition of our countries, the whole European situation, and the position which Germany, and consequently each of the German Powers, must occupy with regard to foreign affairs, so long as we have not peace among ourselves, surely we cannot possibly differ as to the desirability of some such peaceful adjustment. It would be far preferable to a violent solution of the question, preferable also to the existence of exaggeratedly strained relations between Prussia and Austria, which might perhaps last for years, and would be equivalent to a complete disintegration of the Germanic Confederation, besides dividing Germany into two great parties.

"If I am correctly informed, your Highness manifested at Warsaw a distinct inclination towards some such direct understanding with Prussia, and you are not unaware that our common neighbour and ally, the Tsar of Russia, strongly wishes for this direct understanding, regarding it as the sole means to a peaceful solution. Now, although I should be the last to regard the opinion of a foreign power as decisive in our home affairs, or to call upon her utterances to support any of my arguments, still, I believe that matters have now, alas, reached such a point between us, that we have every

reason not to neglect the wishes of an old and powerful ally, and one who is equally friendly to both sides."[1]

Schwarzenberg to Bernstorff.

[Private letter. Incomplete.]

"VIENNA, *June 22nd*, 1850.

"I feel I must add a few lines to my enclosed answer to your confidential official statements.

"First, I thank you for the confidence you have shown me, and for that which you place in my personal intentions. I sincerely reciprocate this confidence in both respects. I am thoroughly persuaded that we both have a warm feeling for our Fatherland, which inclines us to think and act in a conciliating manner. And it is this persuasion which inspires me to hope as to the result of our efforts. Still, the preservation of the honour and true interests of my country are considerations which are no less a principle with me than with you, and moreover a determining one.

"Now, granted we have this leading principle in common, you must permit me, my dear Count, to ask you whether I have not repeatedly offered to lend a hand in the cause of peace, and whether this offer has not been refused on each occasion, owing to the action of Berlin in going further and further, despite all remonstrances? How can we posssibly meet and come to terms, when facts make it so impossible to believe in a real desire for agreement?

"You know what is the chief obstacle to a settlement of the question. *Remove this*, and we will cheerfully do what we can on our side to destroy the barrier which divides, not Prussia and Austria only, but the whole of Germany into two sections. We have waited, too long in vain, so should you not see your way to this, we shall be com-

[1] This letter was sent with Bernstorff's official despatch.

pelled to meet Prussia's innumerable arguments by a decided counter-argument on our side, founded upon the treatise of 1815. United, but only if united, we can quell the revolution, restore peace and prosperity to Germany, and shield her from the storms which threaten her from without.

"Austria and Prussia are chosen to do this great work, and are therefore responsible for its fulfilment.

"The Tsar of Russia sincerely desires the permanent peace of Germany, and has a keen desire for combined action on the part of our Courts. He has often expressed his approval of the existing treaties, and has given practical proof of this. If, therefore, we proceed in this spirit, we may be certain of his entire assent.

"It is a real relief to me to hear you have resolved to go yourself to Berlin. The King is so noble and high-minded, and wishes to act for the best. He has so much intelligence and experience, too, that he knows the best when he sees it. But he shares the fate of Monarchs, in not always being surrounded by unprejudiced counsellors, and thus not always being fully instructed in the real state of affairs.

"My best wishes go with you, my dear Count. May you succeed in attaining your excellent object, and in rendering those services you are so honestly endeavouring to render to your royal master, to whom few are so devoted as yourself."

It is superfluous to comment on this letter of Schwarzenberg's. Prussia is again asked by him to retire from the strong position which she occupied by virtue of the Union, without anything tangible being granted to her beforehand. In face of so unscrupulous an adversary as Schwarzenberg, this was tantamount to throwing herself on the mercy of Austria.

The conference between the Prince of Prussia and the Tsar at Skierniewice was without results, as Nicholas was never wont to go back in his pronounced opinions. This much at any rate is certain, that the Russian Tsar viewed the formation of the Union with much disapprobation, and essentially favoured Austria's attitude on the German question. He even threatened to interfere by force of arms in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, should Prussia disregard his wishes. Under these circumstances an understanding with Austria seemed to the King more to be desired than a Russian intervention. The King's views were also strongly influenced by an offer made him by Louis Napoleon, of French help in the German and Schleswig-Holstein difficulty, in exchange for the annexation by France of certain territory on the left bank of the Rhine. Being adverse to accept the aid of such an accomplice, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. decided to comply with the Russian demands, and he signed a peace with Denmark at the beginning of July.

During these occurrences Bernstorff went to Berlin in order to acquaint himself more fully with the situation there. His journey was due to the wishes of Baron Otto von Manteuffel,[1] who, since November 8th, 1848, had held the portfolio for Home Affairs in the Brandenburg Ministry. He was known to be a decided adversary of the Union, which opposed him in his attempts to extricate Prussia at all costs from her conflict with Austria. Manteuffel had gained considerable influence in Berlin, but Radowitz[2]

[1] Otto Theodor, Freiherr von Manteuffel. Prussian statesman. Born 1805, died 1882.—Tr.

[2] Joseph Maria Radowitz; born 1797, died 1853. See Dr. Paul Hassel's life of the gifted soldier and statesman, and confidant of the king. Published by Mittler and Sohn, Berlin. Radowitz's statesmanship in regard to Prussia and Germany meets with due appreciation. Bernstorff, who was so long his political opponent, bore worthy testimony to his merits, after his own bitter experiences in Vienna.

still had the ear of the King, whom he sought to persuade into a smaller German Federation under Prussia's leadership, and favour energetic proceedings against Austria. Bernstorff's object in going to Berlin was not, however, to stand up in support of Manteuffel, but to impart to his Government a clear idea as to the political situation.

Bernstorff to his Wife.

"BERLIN, *June 27th*, 1850.

"I have just come from Schleinitz, where I found Brandenburg, and I had a long talk with them both, and afterwards with the former alone. Nothing definite can be predicted as yet. I had a fearfully tiring journey."

"POTSDAM RAILWAY STATION, *Evening.*

"The King kept me so long that I have missed the six and seven o'clock trains. . . . The King and Queen were very gracious. The former spoke with great appreciation of my actions, and explained his views to me with admirable clearness and precision. His ideas are quite his own, and not the work of a certain other person (Radowitz), who, all the same, is more in his confidence than ever. Under these circumstances, and the demands from Vienna being what they are, I think all further attempts are useless. If only my advice, of which the King fully approved, had been followed, it would have simplified matters. I was altogether right in everything I said to Prince Schwarzenberg. Now I have to wait until Radowitz arrives, who is expected in a few days. A decision will then be arrived at, and I shall have to attend the Ministerial Council. . . .

"It is an inestimable privilege for me to be here and particularly to hear what his Majesty says, and in view

of this I must bear all the disagreeables and inconveniences. . . ."

Bernstorff to his Wife.

"BERLIN, *June 29th*, 1850.

"I have been talking all day. I dined with Manteuffel and have just been in the garden with Schleinitz. Brandenburg called on me before dinner, and invited me to attend the Council to-morrow at one o'clock; it is a preliminary one, and will be held again on Monday at the Palace. This morning I had a long talk with Radowitz in our old committee-room, and ventured to oppose him at every turn, though in a quite friendly way; he looks very old and worn. People are exceedingly friendly to me, and most of them receive me as a sort of Messiah, and express extravagant hopes which can hardly be fulfilled."

Bernstorff to his Wife.

"BERLIN, *July 1st*, 1850.

"It is a very good thing I came, and it has done me good at all events to breathe another political atmosphere. I am of good cheer; peace with Denmark will probably be signed to-morrow, then *the main point of difference with Russia has been removed, and we only have one adversary to deal with.*"

In the meantime Schwarzenberg had reflected that he would lose nothing by a partial compliance with Bernstorff's proposals, but would benefit rather, since it would enable him to continue his dilatory policy, and would give him a chance of putting his adversary in the wrong. He therefore offered a temporary arrangement to Prussia, by which the two powers should unite in forming a sort

of "*Central Authority with equal rights,*" *pending the decision of the States with reference to* a future Constitution for Germany. On one point, however, where Prussia was concerned, he remained firm; namely, that the dissolution of the Union should be declared *beforehand.* The fact was that he knew if this hated combination were once removed, then the other "concessions" could be retracted by Austria as usual, or at all events, they could be rendered innocuous by an astute diplomacy. But if the Prussian Cabinet were to refuse Austria's offer, as Prokesch von Osten's communications gave reason to expect, then Austria was prepared solemnly to affirm before all the world that she had gone to the uttermost limits of compliance. Events turned out as expected. Manteuffel and his supporters backed up Schwarzenberg's proposals, but Radowitz and his colleagues in the Ministry managed to effect their rejection. Bernstorff was charged to inform the Prince of this fact, and to urge the immediate opening of the "free conferences" desired by the King on the question of the constitution.

Heated discussions followed between the two men. Count Bernstorff declared, speaking of the dissolution of the Union, that a King "could not be required to do anything contrary to his honour." Whereupon Schwarzenberg said sneeringly: "Then you had better prepare for war!" Friedrich Wilhelm afterwards told General Leopold von Gerlach that Bernstorff had given a retort "worthy of a Richelieu," when "with trembling lips," he made reply: "We *are* prepared."

The relations between Vienna and Berlin became so strained that Bernstorff received instructions to break off all political intercourse with Schwarzenberg at once. "This state of things cannot go on," he writes to his friend, Count Pourtalès, the diplomatist; "we shall soon

have to decide how the intricacies of the situation can be unravelled. Or else we must expect an explosion which will perhaps help to cut the Gordian knot after the fashion of Alexander the Great."[1]

Just then Prussia's foreign relations suddenly assumed a somewhat more favourable aspect, especially with regard to Russia. As the Schleswig-Holsteiners continued the war despite the peace concluded on July 5th between Prussia and Denmark, the Tsar Nicholas demanded the intervention of the Germanic Confederation. But the Middle States which had already refused to ratify[2] the treaty of peace, declared they could take no action whatever in the matter, and Austria sided with them, thus coming into opposition with the Tsar, much to Schwarzenberg's annoyance. Realizing his inability to carry out his policy without Russia's assistance, he resolved to cajole Prussia once more with fair words, meaning of course, to keep this up only until the tide should again turn in his favour at St. Petersburg. To hold direct communication with Bernstorff was, in the present state of affairs, impossible, so Hofrat Forsboom, whom Schwarzenberg had already employed as a mediator, was once more made to play the part of a go-between.

In his despatch to the King of August 19th, 1850, from Vienna, Bernstorff formulates as follows Schwarzenberg's

[1] Bernstorff to Pourtalès. Vienna, August 6th, 1850. Private letter in French.

[2] The German Confederation, as such, had refused to agree to the first London protocol of August 2nd, 1850, by which the chief powers outside Germany, together with Sweden, declared for the maintenance of the Danish monarchy—whole and indivisible—in which they were afterwards joined by Austria and Prussia. Bernstorff writes from Vienna of this protocol on August 31st to his mother: "The scandalous behaviour of the powers outside of Germany on the Danish question, particularly in the matter of the London protocol, should be sufficient to open the eyes of all Germans and drive them into Federation. It makes my blood boil!"

proposals, which had been transmitted to him by Forsboom: "The Prince wishes: (1) As strong a Central Power as may be; (2) that this Central Power shall be as nearly as possible similar to the Diet; (3) that first of all the question of popular representation shall be disposed of; (4) the Presidency to alternate between Austria and Prussia—an arrangement to which Austria declares herself agreeable, provided the other Governments are so."

The executive is to be shared between Austria and Prussia, and the new Central Authority[1] must make use of the smaller Council of seventeen votes and the Plenum.

The clause by which the sanction of all the governments was made the condition of the interchange of the presidency indicates the motive Schwarzenberg had in making his concessions. At first Bernstorff believed in the sincerity and compliance, because he understood that Schwarzenberg had given his *word of honour* that the concessions should be carried out, provided Prussia came to terms at once. His despatch of August 22nd gives a detailed account of this.

From Bernstorff's despatch to the King. (*Number* 97.)

"VIENNA, *August 22nd*, 1850.

"The day before yesterday, Prince Schwarzenberg in his own person, and in his capacities as President of the

[1] The reconciliation between Austria and Russia was a source of real jubilation to those small states of Germany which were hostile to Prussia. Count von Platen, the Hanoverian Minister in Vienna, whose passionate temperament prevented him from restraining his animosity to Prussia, said to Bernstorff, "the Holstein affair has been chosen as the first subject for consideration by the newly constituted Federal Diet, because if Prussia wished to declare war on this question, she would do so under the most unfavourable conditions, and must of necessity be annihilated, as she has all Europe against her, and in case of opposition on her part, 200,000 Russians would march into Prussia. From Bernstorff's despatch to the King, Vienna, September 5th, 1860.

Ministry and Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave his threefold word of honour to one of the intermediaries I had the privilege of mentioning in despatch No. 95, *that directly he received some ostensible guarantee that your Majesty's Government would accept the four points notified by me on August 19th, he would communicate confidentially, in full, his intentions respecting further arrangements for Germany.* The Prince added that he would wait a week longer. He means, perhaps, by this that, in case of an answer in the affirmative from Berlin before September 1st, he will prevent the formation of the Council of Thirteen at Frankfort. I am assured that he never has been in so conciliatory a mood as at the present moment! . . ."

In consequence of this despatch Bernstorff was empowered from Berlin to agree at once to the Austrian terms.

But these so-called "conciliations" were only diplomatic illusions, for as soon as Schwarzenberg had made his peace at Ischl with the Russian statesmen, Nesselrode and Meyendorff, and had done what Russia wished in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, he retracted the foregoing "concessions." On September 3rd, he suddenly announced to Bernstorff that he could not agree to anything until he had a guarantee *that the Union of May 26th would cease to exist directly the new Federal organization came into being.* Bernstorff writes indignantly to Berlin of this fresh change of front.

From Bernstorff's despatch to the King.

"VIENNA, *September 4th*, 1850.

"I regret to say that I find the President of the Imperial Ministry has again changed his mind and is resorting to subterfuge. As a pretext for this he alleges that in Berlin

they speak as if Austria, by coming to an understanding upon the administration of Federal affairs, were recognizing the Union, and he asserts they have expressed as much to Baron von Prokesch. This, he says, has caused the other governments extreme uneasiness, and he insists *on having a guarantee that the Union of May 26th will cease to exist as soon as the new Federal organization comes into being*. I must admit I was *filled with indignation* at this fresh turn of affairs, and this perpetual recurrence to demands which gratify no object but his own selfish caprice; or at best indicate that he does not really want to come to any terms at all, nor to grant the mutual requirements of both parties. I gave him to understand this, in the strongest language possible within conventional bounds. I laid on him alone the responsibility for the breach of peace which might so easily arise in Germany at the present juncture, even though he might not wish it. He is making it impossible to arrive at the understanding about which every one concerned is agreed, and this by laying down conditions which only serve to gratify his own caprice. I said that the person with whom he had chiefly been in negotiation had declared that he, the Prince, had given his *word of honour* to come to further terms directly Prussia had accepted the four points demanded of her; so that he would be compromised unless he were formally to accuse this person—a great favourite of his—of falsehood. He thereupon denied having given his word of honour, and stuck to his demands. I omit all the arguments I used to prove to him that the guarantee would be superfluous if he referred only to the constitutional scheme of May 26th being, of course, incompatible with a reconstruction of the Confederation on the basis proposed; and I feel there is the less necessity of mentioning my arguments because he went so far to-day as to assert that

the Union itself was incompatible with the Confederation, and he would not understand that it would become a different Union if it received another Constitution. I explained to him that under such circumstances the Confederation must perforce fall to pieces, and that he alone would be to blame, that only one course would be left open to your Majesty's Government, namely: to establish the Union definitely, irrespective of the Confederation."

In a despatch of September 9th, Bernstorff again refers to Schwarzenberg's disavowals. "I can confidently assure your Majesty," he writes, "that this, the Prince's statement, is false, that he accepted the four points without any secondary conditions; and that the intermediary, with whom I negotiated, cannot be accused of untruth."

The interview between Count Bernstorff and Schwarzenberg on September 9th was also destitute of results. At its conclusion Schwarzenberg again asked irritably whether Prussia was still preparing for war, and when Bernstorff replied that he really did not know, added: "It's a pity to waste so much money; you had better attack us!"

Bernstorff profoundly deplored having to take part in this diplomatic jugglery, and being obliged to confer with an adversary who at bottom did not really want to come to any terms. Even Prokesch-Osten, in his "Recollections," affirms that Bernstorff's intentions were thoroughly honourable. As a matter of fact, Schwarzenberg could easily have come to terms with the Berlin Cabinet, for Schleinitz in an interview with Prokesch had half ceded the question of the Union, merely stipulating that Prussia should be enabled to retire honourably. The only thing he, Schleinitz, refused to agree to, was that Prussia should enter the Diet which had been convoked without her, and he demanded instead, free negotiations between both parties, and that a private

agreement should at once be made concerning a Constitution for the whole Empire. In vain; Schwarzenberg would not give in, though Prokesch most urgently pressed him to do so.

Bernstorff was so distressed by the whole affair that his health suffered severely, and he would gladly have gone away to recruit his strength. However, he had to remain at his post in obedience to the express wishes of the Ministry. Meanwhile, Schleinitz, who, despite all these political proceedings, was happily confident that an understanding was as good as certain, left Berlin for a short time for change of air. "It is a great burden," writes Bernstorff, "to be dependent on one's office, particularly when one man can do so little, notwithstanding the confidence which both sides profess to have in him."

On September 16th he became so ill that his wife begged that leave of absence might be telegraphed to him. This request was at first refused; but as his condition grew daily worse, the Berlin authorities had to give in.

Before starting on his holiday, the Count once more called the attention of his government to the dangers likely to arise from the fact becoming daily more palpable that Austria's destinies were entrusted to a statesman who was *apparently of unsound mind.*

"As your Majesty will deign to observe from my political despatch of to-day to the Minister President, the inconsistency of Prince Schwarzenberg's verbal utterances is more striking than ever, and it daily becomes more difficult to rely on what he says. When I consider the Prince's increasing obstinacy and his inaccessibility to any reasonable arguments, and compare these with reports partly received from himself, and partly from other good sources, as to his state of health; when I call to mind the revelations made by well-informed persons of high

standing, to the effect that he no longer reads, and forgets everything, and that he takes every opportunity, such as a military parade for example, to neglect his duties, in short, that he is in a measure 'throwing off his harness,' if I may be permitted to employ a trivial expression used to me ; when I consider all these things, I am really tempted to believe that his abilities are becoming impaired by the mental and physical strain of his position. All my means of dealing with this Minister are exhausted, that is, in so far as they consist in logical arguments, attempts to convince him, and constantly renewed efforts at persuasion by showing him in the plainest terms what the inevitable result of such a policy will be. We cannot, therefore, expect to gain anything more by words. Actions alone will, perhaps, be efficacious." [1]

It was certainly true that the Prince was much out of health, but his political action can hardly be attributed to illness. It merely arose from Schwarzenberg's conviction that any measures were permissible for the overthrow of Austria's hated rival.

Count and Countess Bernstorff, with little Andreas, stayed in Italy from the end of September to the middle of October. During that time Bernstorff wrote the following letter to his mother, which plainly indicates that a change had come over his political views since he had become more intimately acquainted with the situation in Vienna.

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"VENICE, *October 7th*, 1850.

". . . . I heard in Trieste of Radowitz's appointment.[2] Till now I have been very glad in many ways to have a

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King. Vienna, September 22nd, 1850.

[2] It will be remembered that Count Schleinitz had hitherto been Minister for Foreign Affairs, whilst Radowitz, as the King's adviser, had exercised a special influence behind the scenes. On September 26th, 1850, he took over the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

special friend as my chief, but he did not actually help me much, having so little influence himself, and I would rather that the person who directs our policy should be really the Minister. I did not at all agree, at first, with Radowitz's policy, but things have now been brought to such a pass by Austria and the so-called 'Grossdeutsch' party, that I can no longer differ from him, and thoroughly agree with the attitude we have assumed; indeed, I have strongly recommended it. I have told Schwarzenberg a hundred times how it would be if he persisted in his selfish and untenable course. To want to establish a Germany without Prussia is really inconceivable, and it can be met with but one policy, as to which all Prussians must be agreed, whatever their principles!"

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"HIETZING, *October 24th*, 1850.

". . . . We left Venice on October 8th, at midnight, in lovely weather, with the moon in her first quarter. We were very sorry not to be able to stay on, now there is a new moon. It is so beautiful there in fine weather, and the architecture is of quite a peculiar order. In Trieste we had two days of tramontane. The day we left, however, was beautiful, and after we had made a last early morning excursion on the sea, we left the fair Italian skies behind us, and after a mile's journey got into cold weather in the mountains with snow and rain.

". . . . We want to move into town in a few days—that is, if we still remain here, for things are so bad and to-day's news from the Electorate of Hesse is so serious, that a collision there is almost certain, and war appears well-nigh inevitable. . . . It will not be a pleasant thing for us personally to break up our establishment in Vienna, and leave it all in the lurch; it will likewise be a pecuniary

loss to us. Still, when such great interests are at stake, we must forget ourselves. God will graciously bring us through it all and not forsake us. May He also reward our good King's noble and unselfish intentions, and punish the perfidy and slanders of his enemies! I have no doubt on which side justice and loyalty lie, so that I have a sure hope of ultimate victory whatever turn events may take. . . . Professor Oppolzer has thoroughly examined me and says that my pains are due to the mental strain to which I have been subjected here."

The opposition between Austria and Prussia was rendered more acute by the differences between the Elector of Hesse and his Diet, the latter adhering to the Constitution of 1831. The Elector, who had shortly before withdrawn from the Union, appealed for aid to the "Rump Diet" at Frankfort, and the latter, with the approval, and at the instigation of, Austria, promised its assistance. For this, Bavarian troops—troops, that is, of a state hostile to Prussia—were chosen, and ordered to occupy the Electorate, hereby endangering the roads, which connected the East and West provinces of Prussia. This was a thing Friedrich Wilhelm IV. would not suffer, notwithstanding his dislike of the Hessian Constitutionalists, and it is also well known that Radowitz and his supporters urged the King to oppose the execution of the Austrian plans. Manteuffel's party advocated concession, and a demand for the unconditional readmission of Prussia and the small princes of the Union to the Diet, on the understanding that the Union would at once be given up. In their opinion all preparations for war should be abandoned. And yet Bernstorff testifies later on to Radowitz that had he not urged preparations for war being made, "*Prussia would never have obtained even the Olmütz conditions.*"

On his return to Vienna, Bernstorff had to endure great worry of mind. He was obliged to look on powerless while Austria made vigorous preparations for war, and while certain circles in the capital were already beginning to rejoice at the thought of Prussia's "complete annihilation." The offensive and defensive alliance concluded at the instance of Schwarzenberg, between Bavaria, Württemberg, and Austria at Bregenz, impressed Bernstorff as being—to borrow a military simile—a fresh battery alligned against Prussia. He knew, of course, that the Austrian army was in many respects over-rated; he had been sufficiently enlightened as to its lack of resources, by the perusal of a memorandum by Radetzky which fell into his hands at the time. Nevertheless, he was harassed by anxiety lest Prussia, in consequence of the Holstein affair, should have both France and Russia against her in a war with Austria. He therefore urgently implored the Prussian Cabinet to rid herself of these two adversaries by the immediate pacification of Holstein, effecting the same by force of arms if need be. If this question, he writes, were once settled, Russia would not look on quietly and let Prussia be annihilated.[1]

Bernstorff was soon able to furnish more minute particulars as to the military preparations in Austria.

Despatch from Bernstorff to the King.

"VIENNA, *October* 31*st*, 1850.

"In a telegraphic despatch sent off at noon to-day, I have informed your Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs that by the 5th or 6th of November the Austrians will have 100,000 men in fighting trim stationed on the Bohemian frontier, and prepared to march thence straight on Berlin,

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King, Vienna, October 27th, 1850.

should war break out. That such will be the case seems to me indubitable, judging from Radowitz's telegram received by me this morning, and from all I see and hear on the spot, particularly from what I have learnt concerning the Conference at Warsaw. The danger is so imminent that I am sending a special messenger to Regensburg again to-day to forward this my most respectful despatch. My figures of 100,000 men, given above, are founded on fairly concurrent reports which have reached me from various quarters. I must, however, leave the exact numbers undetermined, and, of course, it is a question whether such a large army can really be brought into the field across the frontier.

"Still, if it were only 80,000 men strong, which from all accounts is the lowest computation, a veteran army like this, united with that of Saxony, would anyway be a military force requiring a very strong Prussian army to meet it effectively. . . .

"I am firmly persuaded that they are only waiting here till they have quite got this army together to bring the Hessian affair to a rupture, and then to invade Saxony and Prussia forthwith. In order to be prepared for this with all possible despatch, the Lloyd steamships between Venice and Trieste, the Danube steamers in Hungary, and the railways in all directions will be utilized. The army left in Italy will, according to the Sardinian Minister, number from 90,000 to 92,000 men. . . .

"I have not seen Prince Schwarzenberg since his return from Warsaw, for I have no communications to make to him, and there is all the less inducement to go to him, as he is very irritable and excited. . . ."

Bernstorff now submitted to the Prussian Cabinet his views as to the course of action to be adopted by Prussia

in the event of war. The tactics he recommended are full of military acumen, and read almost like a forecast of the campaign of 1866.

"*Some considerations as to the species of warfare likely to be adopted by Austria, and the means to be used by Prussia for coping with the same.*

"*End of October*, 1850.

[Incomplete.]

". . . . If the war which threatens to break out between Prussia and Austria is to result in our success, I am convinced it must be carried on regardless of all other considerations, with the utmost energy and rapidity, and that it must assume an offensive character as soon as possible. The reasons for this seem to me very obvious; Austria's greatest fault in warfare has always been her slowness and lack of mobility. In these respects it is true that the Austrian warfare of modern times has made great advance; but the position of the Empire in itself precludes the speedy transference of large bodies of troops to the Prussian frontier, and a considerable time must necessarily elapse before the advancing troops can be brought face to face with the Prussian army, even by dint of forced marches and the help of railways and the steamboats from Italy and the eastern provinces. Thus it would, to begin with, be an incalculable advantage *if some decisive blow could be struck on our side before all the enemy's forces had combined.* Besides this, a good beginning, such as a victorious battle, or a successful advance against Austria, would have this other immense advantage, that its moral effect would work like an electric shock upon the subjugated people of Hungary and Italy, exciting them to insurrection, inspiring them with courage, and stirring up their regiments to revolt; whereas the

latter, in case of a successful advance on the part of the Austrian army, would probably be unhesitatingly dragged with it into the fray.

"To be beforehand with the Austrians in their plan of campaign is all the more important because they will gain otherwise such an obvious advantage; they will have a base of offensive operations against us which will expose us to the most imminent danger; they will break up our forces, and will more or less cut off a great portion of the kingdom from its centre, and they will also transfer the seat of war to the capital.

"From all I hear, there is no doubt the Austrians will at once invade the kingdom of Saxony on one side, and Prussia on the other, by way of Görlitz; that they will incorporate the Saxon army with theirs, and will march together straight on Berlin. By so doing they would cut off Silesia, which, though dotted with fortresses, is, it appears, at present destitute of troops. They would not trouble to attack it, but then they have no danger to fear from it. Then supposing Prussian forces from Erfurt, Halle, and Magdeburg were to advance against the enemy direct, or by a flanking movement, there would always be the Hanoverian army in the rear ready to surprise us by treachery, and to strike a decisive blow for our enemies at the critical moment. Supposing the operations were to result in the enemy's advantage—say an important town were lost and the capital were immediately threatened—then the entire western portion of the kingdom would be severed from the eastern, and the whole standing army in the Rhine provinces, Hesse, Frankfort, and Baden, would be cut off from the capital and surrounded on all sides by the enemy.

"The war would be carried on by Austria with the utmost energy, and in the event of victory, she would

not only act with the greatest possible lack of consideration, but would vent on us her insolent arrogance and long-suppressed revenge. No one can have an instant's doubt of this who has spent the last few years here, and reads and hears the sentiments at present expressed. All betoken that deeply-rooted and ineradicable antipathy to Prussia, which out of common decency was in some measure restrained in time of peace. One need, besides, only to be acquainted with the character and opinions of Prince Schwarzenberg to be sure of this. . . .

"Such weapons can only be successfully met by those of a like nature. It is not a question of a little influence more or less in Germany; it has nothing to do with repelling an attack upon our frontiers, or with maintaining this or the other disputed position. The question is the security of the throne of the great House of Hohenzollern, and the continuance of the Prussian kingdom as a European power and as an individual state. In a word, it is a struggle for life or death. This struggle can only be carried on successfully by fighting man to man, putting forth all the strength we have at our command and taking advantage of every weak or unprotected spot on the enemy's side. The occupation of any position not immediately connected with our chief object—that of self-preservation—any splitting of our forces other than of attacking the enemy, can only do us harm. If the enemy is once knocked on the head and menaced within the heart of her own territory, then her smaller confederates will soon lose courage, desert her and go over to the conqueror, or at any rate, will not hazard a determined attack on us.

"I think I must urge that we make it a general principle to regard all who are not our confederates as decidedly our enemies. Thus we ought not to put up with neu-

trality or with underhand and cautious waiting-upon-events on the part of anyone, much less our nearest and most dangerous neighbours. My unbiased opinion is, that we should declare war at once, and that we should, with the utmost speed and determination, force Saxony, Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and all others lying within our reach and professing adherence to the spurious Diet, to come over to us and incorporate their contingents in the Prussian army, or eventually that we should disarm their troops and occupy their territory.

"This is most important as regards the kingdom of Saxony. We ought to get the start of Austria there and win over the army, whose younger members are much in sympathy with their old Prussian comrades. *The Austrian plan of campaign would thus be thwarted at once.* Directly the Austrian army debouched from the mountains of Bohemia it would come into contact with the enemy's forces, the seat of war would be transferred to foreign territory, and the possibility of an attack on Austria would be facilitated. The operations of the Austrian army in South Germany would be most effectually hampered by a bold advance on our side, and a successful engagement on Austrian soil, in which case we might threaten Vienna, or at any rate Hungary, where an invading Prussian army would be sure to meet with the greatest sympathy. Under these circumstances the Austrian army would have to abandon the offensive, and hasten back to save the capital.

"It is, besides, probable that Austria would not employ any considerable fighting force to combine with the smaller South German army, but that she would concentrate her chief strength in Bohemia. Prince Schwarzenberg has already intimated that he does not intend to carry on war in South Germany, but means to march straight on

Berlin. From every point of view therefore — offensive and defensive alike—it would seem strongly advisable to have the chief strength of the Prussian army concentrated on the Saxon frontiers, in order to occupy *Saxony at once, if needs be,* and in any case to waylay the enemy on the march between Wittenberg and Frankfort on the Oder. One can hardly doubt that if the first pitched battle is fought in that district, it will probably decide the fortunes of the whole war.

"The opinions I have ventured to express are all founded on the assumption that the war will be carried on between German powers only. Should other powers, like Russia and France, take part in it against Prussia, then there would naturally be no question of assuming the offensive. But there would then be all the more need to concentrate our main force at Berlin to defend the heart of the kingdom.

"From what I have said it is obvious that the campaign in South Germany will take a secondary place, and if our South German adversaries have once got us to relinquish Baden, which is, after all, untenable and only a danger to us, it is hardly to be supposed they will show great energy in attacking us, considering the composition of their army and the inferior quality of such of their soldiers as are not Austrians.

"As to counting on possible revolts in the re-conquered Austrian provinces, I may remark that in the case of Hungary, where they are most likely to occur, conditions prejudicial to us will probably arise from the fact that Russia, even though she might take no part in the war, would, in the event of disturbances, be almost certain to occupy Hungary, and thus cover the Austrian rear. We must not lose sight of this possibility, and so ought not to reckon too much upon fortunate contingencies of this

kind. In Italy it will depend chiefly on Sardinia whether or not a diversion takes place which is likely to prove detrimental to Austria. Unless some move be made from that quarter, the Lombards will hardly venture to take up arms again, so long as the Austrian army of occupation is undiminished by pressing emergencies in Germany. It appears that the rancour against Austria is stronger than ever in Sardinia. But she is an exhausted, worn-out power, and unless she is egged on by England or France, she will not make a move, so long as there is no decided reverse on the Austrian side to encourage her to fresh attack. . . ."

The Prussian troops had been withdrawn from the Holstein frontier, but it was evident that Schwarzenberg would not be content with this. He insisted on the Prussian forces also leaving immediately the Electorate, a demand to which they did not, however, accede in Berlin. On the contrary, Peucker secured his position by occupying the whole country between the Etappe roads.[1] A warlike mood prevailed throughout Germany.

"It is very striking," writes Bernstorff at the end of his despatch of November 2nd, "to notice the anxiety, not to say apprehension, with which the chief diplomats here await any news likely to make an agreement possible, and to avert war. They fear nothing so much as that Prussia shall come to terms and be admitted unreservedly to the Diet, and they want her to be forced by war to accept the conditions Austria dictates. The worst in this respect is Count von Lerchenfeld.[2] I am told he goes every day to see the Prince to keep him to his selfish course, and his warlike intentions."

There now followed a mobilization of troops in Prussia

[1] Military roads. [2] Bavarian Minister at Vienna.

which aroused the greatest national enthusiasm. The Prime Minister, Count Brandenburg, addressed a despatch to Schwarzenberg on the subject, saying he made Prussia's concession on the Hessian and Holstein questions conditional upon the immediate opening of the Conference. But the Prince turned the tables by replying that he should only begin the Conference when Prussia yielded on both these points.

Meanwhile, Count Brandenburg met the Tsar Nicholas, the Emperor Franz Joseph and Prince Schwarzenberg at the Warsaw Conference, and became convinced, in view of the Russian menaces, that should war break out with Austria, Prussia would certainly have Russia against her, and probably other powers as well. In the Ministerial Council held on his return to Berlin, the majority of the Ministers, Manteuffel among them, advocated a speedy change of attitude, whilst the minority, who gathered round Radowitz, expressed themselves in favour of standing firm. The King, though he sympathised with the views of the latter party, unexpectedly joined the majority, and Radowitz and his supporters resigned on November 2nd.

It is important to note that Bernstorff was at this juncture offered the post of Foreign Minister.[1] He, however, refused the office, seeing no way out of the imbroglio in which others had involved the foreign policy of Prussia. Added to this ground of refusal, his health was so seriously affected that on November 7th it was necessary to telegraph to Berlin for a substitute. One cannot help surmising that the agreements between Austria and Prussia would, perhaps, have been concluded in a worthier manner had a man like Bernstorff, who was so intimately conversant

[1] This is referred to by Count Oriola, the Prussian diplomatist, in a letter to Bernstorff on November 4th, 1850, and in Schleinitz's letter from Berlin of January 10th, 1851. (Both are among Bernstorff's papers.)

with Austrian affairs, been Foreign Minister at the moment."

Bernstorff to his Mother.

"VIENNA, *November 19th*, 1850.

"The immediate reason for my refusing the post offered me at Berlin was my state of health, and especially my suddenly falling ill the day I was telegraphed for to Berlin; but in any case, I should not have accepted it. The only ambitions I still have in life and in my official career are these: to keep my name untarnished; always to act consistently with my avowed principles and opinions; and to render every service I possibly can to my country under these conditions and within these limits. Any position, however lofty, in which I could not fulfil these conditions is not only without the slightest charm for me, but would be unendurable. Therefore I have had to decline the portfolio offered me on November 7th, 1850, just as I had to decline it before, on November 9th, 1848. It does not follow that circumstances might not arise in which I would accept it unhesitatingly, nay gladly, if it were still wished that I should do so. I am no friend of war, and least of all, of civil war. I consider it criminal to bring it about, or even to wish for it, and that God's curse will rest on those who have so brought it about. But if we are forced into war, then I recognize but one duty, which is this: to fight our enemies with all my remaining strength, as long as I have breath in my body, and to see that the campaign is conducted as energetically and successfully as possible."

On November 22nd, Manteuffel, having meanwhile taken over the portfolio for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Bernstorff that Count Westphalen was appointed as his substitute, and would proceed to knit together "the broken threads" of

relations with Austria, an expression which naturally could but mortify the Prussian Minister. At the same time Manteuffel inquired whether, in case of a vacancy at St. Petersburg, Bernstorff would be willing to accept the post there.

From his sick-bed on November 5th, Bernstorff had sent a despatch to the King wherein he vented his righteous indignation at the melancholy situation occasioned in Prussia by the conduct of Russia. With prophetic instinct, he pointed out the dangers to which the German governments would render themselves liable, were they to follow the Tsar's initiative, and once more to attempt to impose upon the people the old obsolete Constitution. The Tsar had just recognized the German Diet, before Prussia had announced her participation. Bernstorff urged the propriety of meeting Schwarzenberg's bluster in a firm and dignified fashion. "Prince Schwarzenburg's demand," he says, "that your Majesty's Government shall first of all discontinue the war preparations is unheard-of, all the more so that it is only the gigantic preparations already made by Austria and her allies which have forced Prussia to arm in self-defence. The mobilization of troops is still briskly going on here, in spite of the more peaceful outlook and the more pacific tone of Prince Schwarzenberg's recent official utterances. Large drafts of troops—it is said about 8000 men per diem, up to a total of 48,000—are being transferred it appears to Prague, to Moravia, and to Silesia, by the Northern railway, which is blocked for all goods traffic.

"I learn from a reliable source that the old Field-Marshal, Radetzky, is so unhappy at the prospect of a war against Germans, and at the idea of being given, in his old age, the supreme command in a fratricidal struggle, for which he sees no sufficient cause, *that he has actually wept about it.*"

Events now seemed to be irresistibly forcing on the war. "Matters are in such a state," writes Countess Bernstorff to her mother,[1] "that any day we may be asking for or receiving our passports. Unfortunately, we cannot come to you. Saxony will, *in all probability*, be the field of action. A great responsibility rests with those who have brought things to this pass. A war between Prussia and Austria will entail a European war, and there is such a scare about it here that the bankers and business men don't want to believe in it. Albrecht has done all he can to avert this rupture, so we can leave matters to God with a clear conscience. Vienna has brought us no luck; it welcomed us with barricades and speeds us with war. I shall have no regrets for Vienna. Schwarzenberg is mad, and is driving us all to destruction. It is thought here that national bankruptcy is inevitable."

The Bronnzell incident showed how easily war might break out at any moment between the two Powers. At this place, in the neighbourhood of Fulda, an encounter had occurred between the Prussians and the united troops of Austria and Bavaria, sent as instruments of the Diet to re-establish the Elector's authority over his subjects. Upon orders from Berlin, however, the Prussians withdrew and contented themselves with occupying the Etappe roads. Manteuffel was firmly resolved to avoid war, even at the cost of a return to the conditions of 1848, for in his inmost heart he did not believe the King would get any compensation for the wished-for "Free Conferences" on the subject of the Constitution. As Prussia had well-nigh reached the utmost limits of concession, yet without the danger of war being averted, Manteuffel proposed going to Vienna, with a letter from the King, to confer with Schwarzenberg. Bernstorff received a telegram from Berlin on

[1] Vienna, October 31st, 1850.

November 25th, directing him to arrange for a conference with the Prince.

Further news was awaited by Manteuffel with some uneasiness, and at last a telegram arrived from Bernstorff to the effect that Schwarzenberg, after a long interview, had not absolutely refused the Conference, but made it dependent on the Emperor's decision.[1] As no further news came at once from Bernstorff, Manteuffel telegraphed to him that he was starting early on the morrow for the conference, being specially commissioned by the King, and bearing autograph letters from his Majesty. He suggested Olmütz for the place of meeting, and asked for an answer to be sent to him the following day at Breslau. An hour later came a telegram from Bernstorff saying that Schwarzenberg was going to Olmütz on the 28th, by order of the Emperor, though only just before he had haughtily made the Conference conditional upon the acceptance of certain terms already transmitted to Berlin by Prokesch. On November 25th Bernstorff telegraphed that Schwarzenberg did not ask that Hesse Cassel should be evacuated by the Prussian troops, only that they should let in the Austrians and Bavarians. The following telegram came in reply from Manteuffel on November 26th:

"Have received yours of last night. The object of the Conference with Prince Schwarzenberg proposed by me is an attempt to come to an understanding respecting the differences which prevail between Austria and Prussia, and to come to terms about the Hessian affair in which new factors have arisen suggesting the possibility of a peaceful settlement being arrived at. Our answer to Herr von Prokesch's questions must depend on the result of this conference. You are to tell Prince Schwarzenberg this, and beg him to say *whether he is prepared to meet me*

[1] von Sybel, as cited above, vol. ii., 55, 56.

at Olmütz without a previous acceptance of his conditions. Should he agree to this, I will arrive at the time the Prince has fixed."

It was due to Bernstorff's eloquence that Schwarzenberg was induced to consent to the Conference unconditionally. For although the Prince was presumably forced to do so in consequence of the Emperor's command, still he would have found means and ways of evading his sovereign's orders had he himself not already changed his mind. That Bernstorff really contributed to this change of mind is shown by his letter to Manteuffel on November 27th, in which he complains of Westphalen's separate mission to Olmütz. Westphalen, who, according to Bernstorff, had adopted the standpoint of the Austrian Cabinet, had brought him a letter from Manteuffel dated November 22nd, which contained the following offensive passage :—

"I cannot refrain from calling your attention to the fact that whatever may be thought of the intentions of the Vienna Cabinet, and whether the war be regarded as a fortunate, advisable and necessary measure, which I do not think it, or merely advantageous and necessary, it is to our interests to see that the outbreak of operations is delayed for a few weeks longer if possible, so that we may not be disturbed in the work of mobilization which we have just begun."[1]

Bernstorff replies to this in his next despatch as follows :—

"VIENNA, *November 27th*, 1850.

". . . . Your Excellency has been kind enough to call my attention to the fact that war is neither desirable nor necessary. Allow me to remark that my official action of the last two years, and all my despatches to the King during that period, show how thoroughly I am aware of

[1] See Bernstorff's letter to his father-in-law. December 29th, 1850.

this, and how unremitting have been my endeavours to avert the fearful misfortune of a war between Prussia and Austria. I have not in the least changed my mind nor my efforts to act in accordance, and these same efforts were successful yesterday in obtaining a result regarded here as highly favourable to the preservation of peace. I have, in fact, prevailed upon Prince Schwarzenberg to agree to a Conference with your Excellency, a thing anyone else would hardly have managed to do. Under such circumstances it is impossible that my staying on here can be a hindrance to peace. Neither do I think it can honestly be so interpreted, even by the Russo-Austrian party, although they may have sometimes been inconvenienced by my unreadiness under any conditions to sacrifice the interests of my Sovereign, and by my having of late to defend those interests with a vigour which has been construed into irritation against Austria. On the contrary, I believe I can conscientiously assure your Excellency that, if my recall were to give the slightest colour for supposing I had incurred disapproval at home, it would make a decidedly unfavourable impression in almost all circles here. For my part, however agreeable it might be to exchange my present arduous, trying, and thorny post for some other important one, I am resolved, in the interests of the cause I serve, *not to leave at the present moment unless his Majesty commands me to resign.* That this should happen I consider wholly inconceivable, since I have devoted myself to carrying out my instructions faithfully, though they were mostly contrary to my own advice."

Bernstorff was deeply wounded by receiving no invitation to the Conference at Olmütz, though Count Westphalen was asked to attend it. The latter, however, wrote privately

to assure him that Manteuffel had merely omitted this invitation out of consideration for his health.

The negotiations at Olmütz need not be minutely entered into here. One cannot, of course, reproach the Prussian bureaucrats for retiring at the last moment from a position which had become untenable. Where they deserve blame is for not having reaped any advantages from the prolonged negotiations of the past few years. Nothing whatever had been gained which could be regarded by the German people—and more especially the Prussians—as the slightest compensation for all that had been lost, or as any consolation for all the hopes so lamentably shattered. The highest degree of blame must, of course, be attached to Manteuffel's predecessors in office. Had they but made use at once of Bernstorff's Convention of September 30th, as a basis for further action, a solution might have been effected insuring an augmentation of Prussia's strength, and a consolidation of the forces of North Germany. As it was, Prussia returned to the old Diet in a weaker condition than before, humiliated in the eyes of foreign powers and charged with the burden of unpopularity. The scathing judgment passed upon the Prussian policy by such a thorough Conservative and loyalist as Bernstorff carries greater weight than any casual verdict.

Count Bernstorff was kept informed of the proceedings at the Conference. Among his papers is a copy of the Olmütz "Articles," of which no transcript exists in the state archives.

"OLMÜTZ, *November 29th*, 1850.

"At the private Conferences held to-day and yesterday between the undersigned, the following propositions have been laid down as a means of settling existing differences

and avoiding conflict; the same will be submitted as quickly as possible to the Governments concerned.

I

"The Governments of Austria and Prussia declare that it is their intention by means of a decision of all the German Governments to procure the final and definitive regulation of the Hessian and Holstein questions.

II

"For the purpose of obtaining the co-operation of the members of the Confederation now represented at Frankfort and of the other German governments, each government represented at Frankfort, as well as Prussia and her allies, will, without delay, appoint a commissioner, who will agree as to the measures which these governments will take.

III

"But since it is a matter of common interest that in Holstein as well as in Hesse, a legal condition of things, and one congenial to Federal principles and the fulfilment of Federal duties, should be introduced; since moreover, Austria, for herself and her allies, has, to the full, given the guarantees required by Prussia for the protection of her interests in the occupation of the Electorate of Hesse, the two Governments of Austria and Prussia have agreed on the following points, which concern the measures next to be taken, and do not prejudice the future decision of the questions at issue:—

"(a) In the Electorate of Hesse, Prussia will place no obstacles in the way of the troops which the Elector has called in. For this purpose she will issue the necessary instructions to her Generals who are in command there, to consent to the Federal troops crossing the Military roads now occupied by Prussia. The Governments of

Austria and Prussia, in concurrence with their allies, will ask His Royal Highness the Elector for his consent to the presence in Cassel of one battalion of the troops (Austrian) which have marched in at the request of H.R.H.'s government, and of one battalion of Prussian troops for the better preservation of order and tranquillity.

"(b) Austria and Prussia will at their earliest convenience send commissioners to Holstein, who in the name of the Confederation shall desire the Stadtholders to suspend hostilities, to withdraw their troops across the Eider and to reduce their army to one third of its present strength. In case of a refusal, they shall threaten the common intervention of Prussia and Austria. On the other hand, the two Governments will induce the Danish Government to garrison the Duchy of Schleswig with a number of troops not larger than is required for the preservation of order and tranquillity.

IV

"The Ministerial Conference will immediately commence at Dresden. The invitations for that purpose will be issued by Austria and Prussia, and at such a time that the Conference can be opened about the middle of December.

"SCHWARZENBERG. "MANTEUFFEL."

During the Dresden Conference Bernstorff endeavoured to prevail upon the Berlin government to assume a bold attitude with regard to Austria. In the deliberations being held on the question of the new German Constitution, he wished that Prussia should stand out resolutely for the Dual Supremacy, and so achieve what the Convention of September 30th had failed to do. Referring to this Convention, he writes: "Though regarded by me as an important stroke, it has, alas, been systematically

paralyzed by our action."[1] He sums up at the end of a memorandum[2] his views upon the objects to be aimed at by Prussia at Dresden: "It is for the moment urgently necessary in the interests of the whole Empire that the division of authority between the two really strong members of the Confederation should be agreed to, for it insures, on the one hand, Germany's independence with regard to other nations, and on the other, her peace and prosperity at home!"

Bernstorff saw through Prince Schwarzenberg's game to out-vote Prussia at the Conference. This being the case, it will be easily understood that the Prince tried hard to oust from the post at Vienna a diplomatist who had so exactly read his cards.

When Schwarzenberg visited Berlin at the end of December, he asked that Bernstorff might be recalled, and received a promise from Manteuffel to this effect, though it was not fulfilled till some time later.[3] Bernstorff's enemies in Berlin, who still continued to stigmatize him as a "foreigner," spared no intrigues that might help towards a speedy accomplishment of Schwarzenberg's object. They represented Bernstorff as a "Radowitzer" and a "Revolutionist," because he had an ardent regard for the power, honour, and greatness of Germany. In a letter to his father-in-law he vindicates himself from all these accusations:—

"VIENNA, *December 29th*, 1850.

". . . . Had the Radowitz Ministry not called the troops to arms, the Olmütz conditions would never have been obtained. But on other occasions Radowitz has indeed committed gross blunders. . . .

[1] Bernstorff to Manteuffel. Despatch from Vienna, December 20th, 1850.

[2] von Sybel, as cited above, vol. ii., 74.

[3] Memorandum-Supplement to the despatch from Vienna, December, 1850.

"However hard I may have fought against the Radowitz policy of my own Government, and against him personally, still that does not, of course, prevent my energetically combating the Schwarzenberg policy, which is every bit as bad and as false as the other, and has been particularly so since last summer, when he exhibited the highest degree of aggressive animosity against us by attempting that one-sided re-establishment of the Diet. Even more hostile designs were betrayed at the end of September, when Austria made preparations for war against us on a colossal scale. I have done everything in my power to assure our position in Germany and Europe, and to save my country from the gravest misfortune. . . . That Schwarzenberg does not consider me either a 'Radowitzer' or a 'Revolutionist' you may be quite sure. I have the most unequivocal evidences from his own hand of the very special confidence he bestowed on me until just before the crash came. Besides this, I had very confidential dealings with him up till quite recently, and it was I *alone* who brought about the Olmütz Conference, which at first he kept on refusing unless conditions were fulfilled which we would not fulfil. I urged him so strongly and so constantly that at last he could hold out no longer, and finally, as he could not make up his mind to yield, he said he would ask the Emperor. The latter at once ordered him to agree to the Conference. *I have thus positive assurance of having contributed most essentially to the maintenance of peace, both of late, and during the last two years.* This is as well known at home as it is here, both in Court circles and by the general public. Even the majority of my colleagues recognize it, and the newspapers, even the most Ministerial ones, speak in the same terms and with the greatest appreciation of me. I believe these undeniable facts to be the best refutation of asser-

tions like those of my country-people at home, according to whom I have not rightly understood how to take the Austrians, and so have rendered an agreement more difficult. It is notorious here that nobody can negotiate with Schwarzenberg as well as I can, and there is no one else one can properly negotiate with at all, for he rules alone. They also know quite well at home that I have, perhaps more than half a dozen times in the last two years, provided my Government with the finest opportunities of coming to terms, but that Radowitz has always waved them aside, up to the very last, even when the Government at my urgent solicitation accepted them; but then Schwarzenberg retracted his word and did not keep to *what was promised!* . . ."

On February 3rd Manteuffel informed Bernstorff of his recall, and told him that Count von Arnim[1] was to be his successor. To be removed at the present juncture from a post in which he had so long and with such tenacity defended the interests of Prussia was a heavy blow to Bernstorff, but he bore it with fortitude as being inevitable. He was, however, firmly resolved to justify himself to the King. Before receiving notice of his recall, he addressed a despatch to the King, in which he once more gave an account of his actions in Vienna, and begged he might at least be replaced by a diplomatist professing the same principles as his own.

"In any case," he writes, "I consider it unquestionably my duty to inform your Majesty that it would be the greatest triumph for all adversaries of Prussia, who are like-

[1] Count von Arnim of Heinrichsdorff. In the same letter Bernstorff was informed that the St. Petersburg post was vacant, and would be given to him. Rochow, who had hitherto represented Prussia there, had declared his readiness to go to Vienna. He, however, withdrew his offer. Private letter from Lt.-Gen. von Rochow to Bernstorff, February 16th, 1851.

wise *my* adversaries, and would make an uncommonly bad impression in all quarters here, were my recall to be in any way attributed to the recent change of system, or were it to give the slightest colour for supposing my past actions had been disapproved of.[1]

"My enemies' triumph would be all the greater because they have found out that Schwarzenberg has expressed a wish for my recall, and that he is supported in this by the Russian representatives here and at Berlin. I cannot wonder at this, for it would naturally suit them better to have a more compliant and less zealous Prussian Minister here."

The Count also takes occasion to recapitulate the occurrences of the last months, proving that he had done his duty, and had neglected no opportunity of furthering Prussian interests, and in token whereof he proudly instances the Convention of September 30th.

Writing the same day to Manteuffel, he says that his recall will be viewed in one of two ways: either he will be looked upon as the representative of a system disapproved of by his Government; or he will be reproached with having failed to represent Prussia's interests with sufficient energy and decision.

"I am prepared," he concludes, "to produce incontestable evidence that I have not only not deceived his Majesty's Government, but that for more than a year and a half I have been portraying in the strongest colours the dangers which threaten Prussia from all quarters, especially from hence and from Russia. Not only this, but I can prove that I have repeatedly provided it with opportunities of retiring honourably and profitably from its present course of action, and of acquiring a far better position than it will ever be able to obtain. I

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King, Vienna, February 4th, 1851.

have, however, always told the Government that if it would persist in holding to its own way, in spite of my advice, then it was absolutely imperative to lose no time in making full preparation for war. Unfortunately, all my predictions have but too completely been fulfilled, and that policy, which I have never ceased to oppose—and in the most open and frank manner, as your Excellency is personally aware—but which I have been obliged to represent here in deference to the wishes of his Majesty's Government, has suffered the most melancholy defeat! . . ."

Upon receiving formal notice of his recall, Bernstorff at once despatched a telegram to the King, requesting on urgent grounds that a brief delay might be granted. In reply, he was informed that his successor would arrive in Vienna immediately. He, therefore, sent another memorial[1] to the King, complaining that the notice of recall dated February 3rd, did not reach him till the 10th, and, though bearing the postmark of February 7th, made no allusion to his communication, nor to his despatch of February 4th, to Manteuffel, which, nevertheless, must have reached Berlin on the morning of the 7th. He then attempted once more to prove to the King why this sudden recall, without any reasons given or any simultaneous appointment to a fresh post—for there was no vacancy yet at St. Petersburg—must of necessity be bitterly mortifying.

"*If*," he writes, "*I am to be removed, to please a man who has injured Prussia to such an unheard-of extent, then I say that the honour of your Majesty's crown requires:—*

"(1) That the present Austrian Envoy in Berlin should be recalled at the same time.

"(2) That I should not, without any fault of my own, be sacrificed to this man; that I should be indemnified

[1] Special despatch from Bernstorff to the King. Vienna, February 10th, 1851.

to the full for the loss of my post here by an immediate appointment to another post congenial to me.

"(3) That I should not be recalled in so sudden a manner in the middle of the winter, as in the eyes of the public it would give the appearance of my having committed some grave offence, in consequence whereof I could not stay on here as representative of your Majesty's Government a moment longer. . . ."

Surely a Sovereign was never addressed in prouder and more outspoken terms! An answer was soon returned in the shape of a Ministerial communication from Manteuffel,[1] in which Bernstorff's complaints were barely discussed. "In every age," wrote Manteuffel, "and in all countries, alterations have taken place in the corps diplomatique, which though not consonant with the wishes of those affected by them, nevertheless could not be regarded by them as indicating on the part of their Governments a lack of satisfaction with their services, but were accepted as the natural consequence of their official position." Manteuffel added that the King had conferred on Count Bernstorff the Star of the Red Eagle Order of the second class, and that his Majesty consented to his departure from Vienna being deferred for several months.

Bernstorff naturally resented the "lecture" contained in the above despatch. In a subsequent letter to Manteuffel, he again vehemently protests that the ground of his complaint is not so much the recall in itself, as the method of that recall, which he declares to be "derogatory to the honour of Prussia."[2] It is needless to enter further into the dispute between Bernstorff and Manteuffel, of which a sufficient idea may be gathered from the above passages. One thing is beyond all doubt—namely: that Manteuffel

[1] Despatch from Manteuffel to Bernstorff. Berlin, February 26th, 1851.

[2] Bernstorff to Manteuffel. Vienna, March 8th, 1851.

did not come off victorious. After the incident was closed, Bernstorff justly reproaches his opponent for not having insisted upon the simultaneous recall of Prokesch-Osten, so that, *formally speaking*, no satisfaction had been given to Prussia.

Bernstorff expected that as an amends for the slight he had endured, he would be given the post of Prussian Minister at Frankfort-am-Main. This, he told Manteuffel, would make it quite clear that the Cabinet had not recalled him from Vienna "owing to want of confidence, but on other grounds for which he was not to blame." The request he made to the King on the subject was, however, negatived, in spite of mediation on the part of the Prince of Prussia, who himself addressed a letter to Manteuffel on Bernstorff's behalf. As a reason for refusing the appointment, Manteuffel said that it was feared Bernstorff might, in Frankfort, put forward the same principles he had so vigorously championed in Vienna.

Before he finally turned his back on Vienna, the late Minister had the satisfaction of seeing Prussia at the Dresden Conference assume a stronger attitude with respect to Schwarzenberg's plans for Federal reform. On February 27th Manteuffel wrote to Schwarzenberg claiming, as an equivalent for Austria's admission to the German alliance, that Prussia should have full parity of rights with Austria within the Germanic Confederation. At the same time he rejected the proposed "Directory of Eleven" on which Schwarzenberg set such great hopes. The latter was furious at this "stiff-necked obstinacy," as he called it, but in vain. Prussia had at last touched the utmost limits of concession, and the Prince was not destined to reap the smallest advantage from the Dresden Conference.

The rancour cherished by Prince Schwarzenberg against the man who saw so plainly through his schemes comes

out in a letter he wrote to Manteuffel. He begins by expressing in half official terms his gratitude to the Prussian statesman for proposing an alliance between Austria and Prussia.[1] During the Dresden Conference the two powers agreed to unite in a defensive alliance with a guarantee that their respective positions should be maintained for the next three years. Schwarzenberg then proceeds as follows: "I have not spoken to Count Bernstorff about your Excellency's communication to me, for I am certain nothing would be gained by it, and it might probably do a great deal of harm."

The knowledge that he had in no way forfeited the confidence of his Sovereign afforded Bernstorff considerable satisfaction throughout the course of these affairs. Even the letter of recall written on April 13th was couched in very courteous terms, and another which arrived a few days later from General Leopold von Gerlach gave explicit testimony to the King's unaltered feelings towards him.[2] In this respect, at any rate, Bernstorff's enemies did not succeed in injuring him, despite their machinations.

His departure from Vienna was viewed with sincere regret by all far-seeing politicians, and on his return to Berlin he was most graciously received by the King.

The diplomatic duel between Schwarzenberg and Bernstorff was at length over, the Prince coming off as

[1] Schwarzenberg to Manteuffel. Vienna, March 17th, 1851. Autograph letter. See Poschinger, "Prussia's Foreign Policy," vol. i., p. 131.

[2] General Leopold von Gerlach to Bernstorff. April 7th, 1851. "I can only assure your Excellency that his Majesty has a strong regard and appreciation for you, and fully approves your course of action in Vienna. This his Majesty will personally repeat to your Excellency." (In Bernstorff's papers.)

The friendly feeling shown to Bernstorff throughout this crisis by Gerlach himself, the well-known adviser of the King, is the more remarkable as Gerlach essentially disapproved of Bernstorff's Austrian policy.

conqueror; not from any superiority over his antagonist in the matter of character and abilities, but from his utter lack of scruple as to the means he employed. One cannot deny to him the possession of an iron determination, which overrode every obstacle in the pursuit of its aims; but this was coupled with an obstinacy and a short-sighted perversity which eventually deprived Austria of all the advantages she had gained from the situation.

This was quite openly acknowledged by all persons of any standing in Vienna, especially by officers like Radetzky and others in high military circles, who would have regarded a rupture between Austria and Prussia as a most serious calamity both for their own capital and for Germany at large.

Fortunately for Prussia and the German people, Count Bernstorff offered, as long as possible, the most dogged resistance to the Prince's plans. He realized that Schwarzenberg aimed at the establishment of a sort of Austrian dictatorship in Germany and consequently the humiliation and final annihilation of the Kingdom of Prussia, in which were centred the last hopes of all patriots. It was only when he saw that Prussia would have to engage in war under the most adverse circumstances possible that he suggested a Dual Control as a *pis aller*. He was ready to resign South Germany to Austria provisionally, but only in order to give Prussia a chance of fortifying herself in the North with a system of defences behind which she might arm at leisure and prepare unmolested for decisive measures. Another point also entered into his calculations. Prussia's cause was that of Protestantism. The downfall of Frederick the Great's monarchy would imply the destruction of the last stronghold of the Evangelical cause. For these reasons, therefore, did Bernstorff endeavour with

all his might to frustrate Schwarzenberg's policy, and though his efforts were defeated in the end, he nevertheless succeeded in effectually weakening his adversary's forces, and later times testify to the fact that his heroic exertions in defence of Prussia had not been in vain.

CHAPTER VI

NAPLES, 1851–1853

Quiet days—Count Pourtalès—Bernstorff's relations with the staff of the Prussian "Wochenblatt"—Election for the Landtag at Konitz—Bernstorff represents Berlin in the First Chamber—The Alvensleben party—Bernstorff made Privy Councillor—He is appointed Prussian Minister to Naples—The Bernstorffs in Paris—Court life in France—Napoleon and Countess Montijo—The Court and Royal Family at Naples—Neapolitan affairs—Political offenders—The feeling in Italy with regard to Austria—Sardinia—Bernstorff and the German colony in Naples—Death of Bernstorff's mother—Internal policy of Prussia—Improvement in the position of the "Wochenblatt" party—Austria and the Zollverein policy—Prince Friedrich Wilhelm in Naples; he stands godfather to Bernstorff's youngest son—Trip to Sicily—Return to Naples—Pompeii—Paestum—Alvensleben's "Prophecy"—Bernstorff appointed Minister in London—Departure from Naples.

IN the life of the busiest and hardest-worked men a period of exceptional toil and nervous strain will often be followed by an interval of almost complete inaction, a phase, not of barrenness and failure, but one of recuperation, during which the mental powers are re-invigorated and refreshed. Such an interval was afforded Bernstorff in the quiet days which succeeded his struggles with Schwarzenberg, and the relaxation proved both mentally and physically beneficial to him after his serious anxieties.

Allusion may here be made to Bernstorff's friend, Count Albert von Pourtalès,[1] whom we have already

[1] "Count Albert von Pourtalès had acquired the education essential to fit him for a diplomatic career: with the further advantage of speaking and writing French like a native, and also possessing a perfect mastery of German. Being

mentioned, and who at this time exercised a considerable influence upon him both by word of mouth and by correspondence. He had, in a political sense, developed on much the same lines as Bernstorff himself. Both men were firmly convinced that Prussia ought to have the supremacy in Germany, both were unanimous in opposing Schwarzenberg's overbearing policy—great as had been their hopes at first of co-operation between Prussia and Austria—and both of them, despite the confusions and perplexities of the moment, looked forward confidently to the ultimate victory of the "United Germany" principle.

On March 21st, 1849, Count Pourtalès had written as follows to his friend from Pera: "Notwithstanding my small sympathy for the so-called 'Central Power,' I cannot blind myself to the fact that there exists in our people, and not in the ranks of the revolutionists merely, a desire for a consolidated and united Germany." Prussia, he says, "must, therefore, take this tendency into account in future, if only from motives of self-preservation, unless she wishes to fall a victim to revolution." It was important to see that the programme of Frankfort and Gotha was carried out, in part, at any rate, and Prussia should make it her policy to put into effect every idea of reform which was capable of realization. Prussia alone might save all.

The result of the Olmütz Conference had profoundly disgusted Count Pourtalès, and had made him a decided opponent of Manteuffel's policy. This led him to join

of a highly intellectual and highly imaginative nature, he found it difficult to move in every-day grooves. His youth had been wild. At length through the influence of Count Egloffstein's first wife, a Demidoff by birth, I believe, he entered the church set, and became acquainted with the Bethmann-Hollweg family, eventually marrying the eldest daughter. From 1848 to 1849 he was repeatedly employed on special Missions, and finally went as Minister to Constantinople, which was much to his mind, as he knew the East and liked it." —Gruner, "Retrospect of my Life," in the "Deutsche Revue" for May, 1901.

the ranks of that party, which had started the Prussian "Wochenblatt," as an organ for the dissemination of their political views, and was trying to make a stand against the Government by taking up the attitude of a dynastic opposition. The other members of this "Fronde" were Bethmann-Holweg, the law professor and leader of the small Liberal-Conservative faction; Matthies, the Privy Counsellor; Professor Klemens Perthes, who had enjoyed the confidence of the Prince and Princess of Prussia when Prince Friedrich Wilhelm was a student at Bonn, and Count Robert von der Goltz. This last was a talented man, but unfortunately too much influenced by personal feeling. With Bismarck he had rendered considerable service in the organization of the Conservative party, and he was destined to come into frequent contact with Bernstorff. He had thrown Manteuffel over from causes arising out of the Olmütz Conference, and had given up his official duties, a step entailing much personal sacrifice, since he had lost his private fortune in 1848, and he now came before the public as a political writer. These men met every Monday at the residence of Count Pourtalès in the Leipziger Platz, where they discussed the forthcoming number of the "Wochenblatt." The first issue of the paper was on January 1st, 1852.[1] "These meetings," says Gruner, "were highly interesting. Count Albert Pourtalès was a particularly stimulating element of the circle. Though he seldom or never wrote an article himself, he took an

[1] V. Gruner's "Retrospect of my Life," from the "Deutsche Revue" of May, 1901, p. 187. Gruner had also thrown Manteuffel over, and left the service of the Government after Olmütz. He joined the "Prussian Wochenblatt" set. Bethmann-Holweg formally handed over to him the proprietorship of the paper later on. During the war Gruner worked in the anti-Russian interest in the columns of the newspaper, advising Prussia to remain in the European concert. He was also a member of the Second Chamber. He returned to public life in the Foreign Office under the new régime.

active part in the drawing-up or improvement of articles suggested by others, whether they dealt with questions of general politics or were devoted to polemical discussions with the 'Kreuz Zeitung,' and his brilliant humour imparted a peculiar charm to them. I especially recollect some articles written by Count von der Goltz in collaboration with Pourtalès, and the extraordinary sensation and curiosity they aroused even in Conservative circles." Count Bernstorff was in personal touch with the members of this "Fronde," though it cannot be averred that he belonged to them entirely. Countess Bernstorff says:[1] "It being well known that my husband had every reason for discontent, it was thought he would join the 'Prussian Wochenblatt.' But when he was at Blankenberghe and the members came to Bruges to see him, he refused at once to confer with them. And when his name was mentioned to Rochow, he replied directly: 'Bernstorff certainly will not join, he is much too loyal to oppose the King's Ministry!'"

According to Rochow, Bernstorff did receive the members of the "Wochenblatt," but did not join them, and certainly he never contributed any articles to the paper. The Countess emphatically states that her husband would have scorned to engage in a newspaper opposition. Consequently she was much annoyed at his being always mentioned by the "Kreuz Zeitung" with the Oppositionists. "Unfortunately," she says, "the 'Kreuz Zeitung' had a constant tendency to evince hostility towards my husband, and when it could bring up nothing else against him, it called him a 'Schleswig-Holsteiner.'" In November, 1852, for example, this paper declared that the best way to wreck the "Prussian Wochenblatt" would be to recall Bismarck from Frankfort, his Prussophile views having long

[1] Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

been suspected, for then strife would at once begin in the bosom of the party between "two noble souls." "One of these pretenders," it goes on, "was born in sea-girt Schleswig-Holstein,[1] the other at Jerome Napoleon's carriage-window,[2] but both belong to the new "old Prussian party."

Pourtalès and Goltz wished Bernstorff to become a deputy, and, at their instance, he was proposed as a candidate at Konitz for the Landtag. His election failed, however, owing to a combination of untoward circumstances. "The letters (to the electors who had casting votes) only arrived," writes Goltz, "just before the end of the election: the chief agent had no vote; and the bad weather, the snow, and the state of the roads, added to the long distances to be traversed, deterred a great number of the electors from appearing at all, and only the Ministerial electors were all of them present. The consequence was that the votes were six to six, and the casting vote was given against you and us." Goltz himself was also defeated as a candidate at Teltow.

In the winter of 1851–1852 Bernstorff represented Berlin in the First Chamber of the Prussian Diet, being unanimously elected out of regard for the admirable way in which he had upheld Prussia's interests at Vienna. He attached himself to the small section which professed the policy of the late Minister Alvensleben, and on the question of the future composition of the First Chamber—perhaps the most important business of the whole session—he voted with a large portion of the Right against the Government Bill. His motive for so doing was that he considered certain clauses of the Bill inconsistent with the existence of an independent Chamber; namely, such

[1] Bernstorff.

[2] Pourtalès. An ancestor had been created Count by Napoleon, but the family were by no means low born, as the insinuation about his birth implied.—Tr.

clauses as provided for the appointment of life members by the Crown, and the proposal that the membership of certain officials should only last during their term of office. When the Diet closed, Bernstorff was made a Privy Councillor, a tribute at the same time being accorded to the services he had rendered in Vienna under such trying conditions. This honour was conferred on him at a Court held on New Year's Day, 1852. "I am glad to have had my way about it at last," said the King when Bernstorff saw him afterwards at Sanssouci.[1] The King's feelings had gradually softened towards the men of the "Wochenblatt" party, and Manteuffel had begun to regard them more kindly since he had fallen out with the "Kreuz Zeitung." For Bernstorff, the King had always entertained the warmest feelings of esteem, and in January he gave orders that the Count should be appointed to another post. The nomination was not, however, made till several months later.

In the summer of 1852 Bernstorff with his family made a trip to England, travelling partly for the sake of his health, and partly in order to acquire some knowledge of the country and the people. He made some stay in the Isle of Wight. Directly after his return in the autumn, the King appointed him Minister to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Count and Countess were delighted at the prospect of returning to Naples, and revisiting the places in which they had spent the first happy years of their married life.

Before starting on their journey south, they spent a short time in Paris, Bernstorff considering that a closer acquaintance with the Court of Napoleon III. was a matter of extreme importance to him in his capacity of Minister owing to the near connection which existed

[1] Countess Bernstorff to her mother. Berlin, May 28th, 1852.

between French politics and Italian affairs. The following letters from the Countess introduce us to the French Court Society of that day.

Countess Bernstorff to her Mother.

"PARIS, *November 24th*, 1852.

"On Sunday morning Albrecht had a note from Hatzfeldt, inviting us to go to the Prince President's in the evening. Louis Napoleon received us in the famous billiard-room at St. Cloud. There is something very pleasant about him, and he has nice manners. One of his adjutants looked after me, and when Louis Napoleon had spoken to us and to Hatzfeldt, we went into the next room, which gradually filled with what seemed to me a most heterogeneous set of people, hardly any of them old acquaintances. The dancing was an altogether secondary affair. The Prince President did most of the talking, and spoke to every one present. During the evening he offered me his arm to show me the picture gallery and the state apartments. He speaks pleasantly and has rather a distinguished air. Supper was served in the fine picture gallery at little round tables, as in Berlin."

"PARIS, *November 29th*, 1852.

"You can have no idea of what the society at St. Cloud is like. Louis Napoleon's family is too impossible for anything! The rooms of that beautiful palace are frequented by the commonest people. You would hardly believe what peculiar looking creatures the Bacciochis and others are. The Prince is decidedly the flower of the flock. He isn't exactly imposing, but one cannot deny that he has something distinguished about him. There is rather a lack of ease in his bearing, but he speaks well and is courteous and agreeable, and he gains in conversation. The people are unreservedly on his side, and so are the

provinces, but the Salons are against him, and society shuns Paris. Prince Jerome[1] is also a remarkable looking man; but the most preposterous person is his son, the future Emperor, that is, unless the Prince President has children. He is a big strong man with fine features, but he is coarse 'au possible.'"

"PARIS, *December 1st*, 1852.

"We saw the Emperor's entry into Paris, from the Duc de Morny's[2] house. It was altogether a very grand affair. The numbers of fine troops drawn up in line all along the Champs Élysées had a magnificent effect. First came several detachments of infantry and cavalry, and then the Emperor almost alone on a beautiful English horse, and bowing graciously. Count Flahault was with us before he rode past. He expressed his dissatisfaction at the appointment of the three Marshals: Magnan, Saint Arnauld, and Castellane, saying it was unnecessary, and that Louis Napoleon ought not to have done it. 'Mais ils ont fait avec lui le 2 Décembre!' said some one. 'Oui,' he rejoined, 'mais pour une chose des rues on ne fait pas des maréchaux!' Most of the people here are very much depressed; that is, not the populace, but the better classes of society. How long the present state of affairs will last no one can tell. The country wants peace, and you see stuck up at every street corner: 'L'Empire c'est la paix!'"

In spite of her criticisms the Countess makes us feel the peculiar charm which Louis Napoleon always exercised

[1] Jerome, at one time King of Westphalia, husband of Princess Catherine, daughter of King Friedrich I. of Württemberg. His son, Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, was known as "Plon Plon," or Prince Napoleon.

[2] Charles Auguste Louis Joseph Duc de Morny, illegitimate son of Queen Hortense and her Master of the Horse, Count Flahault, 1811–1865, attained an important position under the Second Empire.

in personal intercourse. When the Bernstorffs left Paris they had essentially modified their opinion of the Emperor himself, though his Imperial system appeared to them in a worse light than before. Count Bernstorff foresaw that this new autocrat in France, owing to the insecurity of his position and the consequent necessity of keeping the French people perpetually employed, would ere long be forced to involve Europe in some serious political imbroglio.

At St. Cloud the Bernstorffs met the Countess Eugénie Montijo, afterwards the Emperor's wife. "We saw her at St. Cloud," says Countess Bernstorff, and again at Baron Rothschild's, where Albrecht took her in to dinner. She is beautiful, but no longer quite in her first bloom; has fair hair and dark pencilled eyebrows and eyelashes." Baron Hübner, the well-known Austrian diplomat, told Countess Bernstorff that this lady would probably be raised to the throne of France.

At the time of Bernstorff's arrival at Naples to take over his new duties, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was enjoying an interval of repose after years of revolutionary turmoil. The Sovereign of the country was King Ferdinand II. who had married Maria Therese Isabella, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Austria. His step-sister was the Queen Regent Maria Christina of Spain.[1]

[1] With reference to this King's family, the following passages may be quoted from Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences." "The King's step-mother, Isabella, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain, married morganatically for her second husband a Neapolitan nobleman, Del Balzo. We often used to meet her out walking holding her husband's hand in hers, and at receptions he would stand behind her with her sunshade or fan. Another member of the Court was Leopold of Salerno, who had married an Austrian Archduchess, the daughter of the Emperor Franz; their daughter afterwards became the wife of the Duc d'Aumale, son of Louis Philippe. King Ferdinand had twelve step-brothers and sisters, only two of whom were unmarried. One of these died single; the younger one, Princess Therese, afterwards

King Ferdinand had maintained his position throughout the storms of the revolution, by methods which cast serious discredit upon the system he represented. His policy may be summed up in a few words. He began by giving in to the Liberals, and apparently sympathizing with the Italian national movement. He then repealed the Constitution to which he had solemnly pledged himself, made advances to Austria, and ended by a return to absolute power, and a re-introduction of all the abuses, so familiar to those who have studied the history of the country. The people had not forgotten the 15th of May, 1848, when with the help of the ever faithful Swiss, and some rough mercenaries, he had brought about the *coup d'état* against the Constitution; neither had they forgotten the terrible bombardment of Messina by which the King had earned his sobriquet of "Rè Bomba." Calumny waxed rampant everywhere, arrests were perpetual, and the prisons were filled with "political suspects and state offenders," many of whom had done no more than pursue a policy of which the King had previously shown his approval by word and deed. The English Press denounced in most vehement terms all these measures and especially the recall of the Jesuits. It was alleged that in 1850 about 20,000 persons suspected of political offences were thrown into prison. Soon afterwards Gladstone brought out his pamphlet, "Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen," in which he raised a protest on behalf of these unfortunates, bringing the most appalling accusations against the régime at Naples. Further allusion will be made to this question later, which played an important part in Bernstorff's career.

married the Emperor of Brazil, Don Pedro II. Of the King's brothers, the eldest, Prince of Capua, ran away with and married morganatically Miss Penelope Smith, and since then had lived much abroad.'

Though it must be admitted that matters were exaggerated by the English Press, the accounts given were in the main founded on fact. Nevertheless, the King, whose private life was exemplary, had many points in his favour. He quite won over the Bernstorffs by the graciousness and amiability he always showed towards them, and they judged more leniently of many of his actions in consequence. Indeed, it was the recollection of the happy days spent at Naples which caused Bernstorff later on, when Minister in London, to undertake at King Ferdinand's request the thankless task of acting as mediator in the conflict between him and the Western Powers. Scarcely any records are extant among Bernstorff's papers of the Neapolitan politics. The Countess's journals, however, give us a glimpse of the domestic life of the Royal Family. She writes thus:—

"The Queen of Naples is very pretty without having regular features. She has a most pleasant expression in speaking to people she knows and likes: but she can also look very much bored, which is very unbecoming to her."[1] Referring to a private audience she had with the Queen, the Countess says: "We spoke for a long time about the royal children, whom I could hear talking in the adjoining room. At last the Queen suggested I should come with her to see them. They were all together, from the eighteen-year-old Duke of Calabria down to the smallest, who was only a year and ten months. The heir-apparent kept playing first with one and then another of his brothers or talked to his grown-up sisters, the Princess Maria Therese and Princess Maria Annunciata, who are both almost exactly the same height and very like their mother. He kissed their hands in most courtier-like fashion. The room

[1] From Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences." Book I. The Court of Naples. Written in French, 1854.

they were in was very spacious and but sparsely furnished ; only a chest of drawers, a few children's tables and cane chairs, not a single easy chair anywhere. The Queen sat down on one of the little chairs and motioned me to a seat beside her. She often sits here for hours at a time, busy with her crochet. The theme of our conversation was, of course, the children. The Queen related scores of anecdotes concerning them. All the children, both Princes and Princesses, were very simply dressed, and the Duke of Calabria, in spite of eighteen years, still wore a boy's jacket. The children's rooms are between the Queen's private apartments and her reception rooms, so that she is always obliged to go through them. Having the children so close to her, she said, not a chair could be moved without her knowledge. At Caserta she is not nearly so comfortable, for there she and the children always have to go through the King's dressing-room.

" The domestic life of the King and Queen is the most beautiful thing imaginable. They are a most united couple and tenderly devoted to their children, whom they always have with them. At an audience we had of them at Caserta last year they had all the children come in for us to see them. One of them at once took possession of the King's gloves, and another of his hat, while a third seized his sword, playing with everything they could lay hands on. The King had them one after another to sit on his knee, and laughingly bid me notice how jealous little Don Vincenzo was till his turn came. When the audience was over, the King had actually to collect his articles of clothing, which the children were unwilling to part with. Sometimes the King and Queen drive from Caserta to Naples with all the children, unattended except by little Don Pasqualino's nurse. The Queen told me that during their drives the King takes one of the little ones on his knee and she the

other. Once when the Royal Family were returning from Ischia, the Queen was afraid of letting the young Princesses ride home in the dark, so she asked the King, who was being carried in a litter, to take them on his knees, which he did at once, a pretty trait, and quite worthy of Henri IV. The King and Queen are accused of being too much absorbed in their home life, and not showing a state befitting their rank, a reproach which is, perhaps, not entirely without foundation. In Naples the King is chiefly blamed for this. However, I think both are of quite one mind as to their manner of life, for I myself had occasion to notice that the Queen always does what her royal husband wishes. Once when I asked her at a Court ball whether she were going to dance, she replied, 'No, the King has said nothing about it to me, and if he does not tell me to do so, I shall not do it.' A few minutes later I saw him speak to her, and directly afterwards she danced with Prince George of Saxony.

"They are great sticklers here at Court for Spanish etiquette. Their Majesties always dine alone; only at Caserta, and then but seldom, are their household admitted. The King and Queen pass the evening together, the King sometimes playing chess with one of his adjutants and the Queen working. None of the ladies-in-waiting are ever invited in the evening. On Sundays the Royal Family all dine together. The young Princes are brought up very strictly in every way. For example, they have never had dancing-lessons, and the Duke of Calabria was eighteen before he went to the theatre for the first time. The Queen said that when she told him he might come with her and the King, he answered: 'I will not thank you, Mamma, but I will obey!' Before the first state ball the King and Queen themselves instructed the Duke in the different figures of the quadrille, in which he was to take

part that evening. Waltzes he did not dance. Although as I have said, he is eighteen, he is still as obedient as a child. For instance, he asks his mother if he may go from one room to another, if he may have something to drink, etc. At the fancy-dress ball, I myself heard him ask permission to take off his hat. His mother calls him Franceschino. The Queen wears a high dress at balls. By the bye, I may remark that she is accused of jealousy and prudery, but I don't know whether she alone is to blame; possibly the King shares her sentiments. But it may be she dresses like this because it is more convenient to her. She does not at all like to be inconvenienced; as for instance, she will not wear any bracelets because they are in the way.

"As to the King, he is not free from superstition. For example, he will not invite certain people to the Court balls, because they are said to be 'jettatore,' i.e. they are reputed to have the evil eye which brings misfortune. He is talented, and has great knowledge of the world, but is very suspicious, vacillating and apathetic, and thus does not do justice to his good qualities. He is kind-hearted and an excellent father and husband, and values these qualities highly in others."

The foregoing description of the King and Queen in their home circle is given word for word, as it presents a capital picture of the domestic life of the royal couple. There is also a certain charm in seeing the tyrant of Sicily, "King Bomba," in the character of a kind and loving *père de famille*, the more so that this old-fashioned domesticity is a striking exception to the frivolous life led by other members of the Court. The Countess says the other Princes were not such good husbands as the King, and in earlier days they had been a source of great trouble to the Queen Mother

The King is described as being quite grey and very

stout. "Nearly all the Princes are so, but the King is the stoutest, and next to him the Count of Syracuse." The youngest brother, the Count of Trapani, was the only thin Prince in the family. Countess Bernstorff was particularly struck by the Count of Syracuse. "He is undoubtedly one of the most talented of the Princes," she writes. "He has cut himself off entirely from his family, does not live any longer in the palace, and in order to be still more independent, he seldom appears in Court circles, though he is present at family dinners. It is remarkable how he carries his opposition even into trifling details; thus he is very fond of cards, whereas the King detests them. Since leaving the army, he has occupied himself with the fine arts, including architecture, and has even taken up masonry, having built himself a pretty house at Sorrento, where he spends the summer. Nothing can be funnier than to see him being carried for an airing in a litter borne by six men, he smoking his long pipe the while, and behind him quite a number of people, amongst them a servant scattering small coins, and all going at a sharp trot." The Countess speaks of the King's two sisters as "charming, very amusing and extremely amiable."

The conversation at Court is described as dull and tedious, and a curious account is given of the general intellectual condition of the country. In one of her letters Countess Bernstorff says that Naples is much preoccupied with the canonization of the King's first wife. "After being dead for seventeen years she is now, all at once, beginning to work miracles, heal the sick, etc. The Pope gave orders for her to be disinterred and put by herself in another chapel. They found the corpse quite unaltered—it had, of course, been embalmed—the cheeks even still soft, and the joints supple. The Crown Prince her son, urgently besought the King to let him see his

mother, but this was refused. The late Queen has now got to work another miracle, and there will be a 'proces,' at which one advocate will appear for God, and another for the devil. The former is to discourse of miracles, and the latter to try to explain them by natural causes. Then the Pope will decide the case, the Roman Catholics will have a new saint, and the Neapolitans one fête-day more, and one working-day less."

So long as the great masses of the people were pledged to idleness, political conspiracy was, of course, rampant. However, just at that moment no fresh insurrection was expected, for the whole of Italy was gripped as in an iron vice by the heavy-handed spirit of reaction, which had followed upon the quelling of the revolution. The news which came in from various quarters, especially from Milan, of the vigorous measures of the Austrians, did indeed arouse rebellious feelings, but they were accompanied with such a sense of terror as to rob them of all efficacy. Count Perponcher,[1] the Prussian representative at Turin, asserted that Austria was pursuing a short-sighted policy and that she would eventually force Sardinia to combine with England and France, and she would thus actually play into Louis Napoleon's hands.

Bernstorff had but little to do with great political questions in Naples. His chief work was connected with the German colony there, and numerous letters testify to his constant readiness to advise or act for his fellow-countrymen, or to appeal on their behalf to the Government at home or the authorities in Italy when occasion required. "I have a great deal to do, more than I like," he writes, "otherwise I am quite content with my sphere of activity, for hundreds of my country-people, and co-religionists, Prussian and German, are under my protection here, and

[1] Count Perponcher to Bernstorff. Turin, March 12th, 1853.

their weal or woe depends on the manner in which I exercise that protection. They are very fond of us too, which is always a satisfaction."[1] In so purely a Roman Catholic Country the Protestants were not allowed a church of their own, so that their church service was held every Sunday in a room set apart for the purpose at the Legation. It was conducted by the chaplain of the German community, Pastor Remy, an excellent man of true piety and great spiritual endowment. He and his wife were intimate friends of the Bernstorffs. Dr. Zimmermann, the physician in charge of the German hospital and medical attendant at the Legation, was another friend. In later years, when Count Bernstorff had long been established in London, letters would often reach him from his Italian acquaintances, showing the esteem in which he and his wife had been held, and how affectionately they were still remembered.

Soon after settling down to his duties in Naples, Bernstorff underwent a severe trial in the death of his mother. She had always been devoted to him and set the greatest hopes on his future career, and his deep affection appealed to her most profoundly, though she never realized to what extent he had sacrificed himself on her behalf at the time of his father's death. Here in Italy, in the midst of a strange people, so far distant from the old home among the lakes and forests, Bernstorff felt the blow with a double intensity, and his despondency comes out in letters to Goltz, to whom he writes in gloomy tone as to his political prospects. Goltz replied with reproaches for "giving in so soon," and supplies him with closer information respecting events in Berlin. "As matters stand at present," he says, "we cannot, of course, arrive at a thoroughly satisfactory solution of affairs, but we can, in

[1] Bernstorff to Goltz. May 2nd, 1853.

any case, arrive at a better one, and unless we try to do so, we shall incur the danger of waiting for conditions which probably will not arise at all, or will be so fraught with difficulties when they do arise that we shall not be able to extricate ourselves, try how we will."[1] Goltz further announces that the "Kreuz Zeitung" party has gained a foothold in high circles, though it has suffered defeat in the Chamber, and has won for itself an avowed enemy in the Prince of Prussia. Also that Manteuffel has become tired of this "coterie," and is coquetting with the Left and openly making advances to the "Wochenblatt" party and to him, Goltz.

The time came when the leading members of the little "Fronde" were to leave the ranks of the Opposition, and re-enter the diplomatic service on the side of the King and the Government. Bernstorff, too, was destined ere long to find himself once more in the high tide of politics, though at the present moment he had not the slightest idea that he would ever again occupy any important or responsible position. When at home he had never engaged in any violent party quarrels, and Goltz's letters from the arena of domestic politics affected him as trumpet-blasts from some far-off world.[2]

[1] Goltz to Bernstorff. Berlin, May 23rd, 1853.

[2] Bernstorff's instrumentality in acquiring for Prussia Raphael's well-known "Madonna di Terra Nuova" may in this tranquil period of his career be accounted an act of diplomacy. Geheimrat Roland, who brought the picture to Berlin by order of Friedrich Wilhelm IV., writes to Bernstorff as follows: "Berlin, March 24th, 1852. Your Excellency has shown so much interest in the fate of the Raphael intrusted to my care that I feel bound respectfully to inform you that I arrived with it safe and sound at Berlin on March 21st. Thanks to the most adequate provision made by your Excellency, our passage over the Sardinian frontier was made smooth, and I and my precious charge reached the frontiers of Switzerland unmolested." Roland reached Berlin after a long journey, throughout which he had guarded the picture like the apple of his eye. Manteuffel and Olfers, the Director General of the Royal Museum, were present when it was unpacked. "When the precious shrine," continues

In matters of foreign policy he, however, always took the keenest interest. While distressed on the one hand that Russia should exert so great an influence on German affairs, it was a satisfaction to him to feel that Prussia had exhibited firmness towards Austria and her adherents at least on the subject of the Zollverein policy, the King of Prussia having refused to include Austria in the Tariff Union. Prussia stood firm on this point, and though several members of the Zollverein threatened to retire, they did not actually do so. The relations between Manteuffel and Bernstorff had improved, owing to the resignation of Le Coq, an old opponent of Bernstorff's, who, after quarrelling with his chief, had given up his post as Under Secretary of State.

Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, afterwards Crown Prince of Prussia, paid a visit to Naples and Sicily in 1853. That such had been his intention for some time was known to the Bernstorffs. They were the more gratified at the prospect, as the Prince had written to say he would stand godfather to their youngest son, and the baptism of the child had accordingly been deferred till the beginning of March, when the Prince was to arrive in Naples. The King of Sicily prepared the charming little castle of Chiatamone for his royal guest, where Friedrich Wilhelm III. had once stayed with his two sons. The Prince was accompanied by his aide-de-

Roland, "was at length opened by Herr von Olfers, *I had the joy of beholding the Madonna beaming at me in all her wondrous beauty.* The Director expressed his thanks to me for the safe delivery of the precious picture, and said, after gazing admiringly at it for a long while, that he should at once announce its arrival to the King, who had asked him at dinner a week ago if there was 'any news from the Terra Nuova'? I beg your Excellency to pardon this almost too great abuse of your Excellency's leisure to tell you of this matter, since you have always been more than kind and considerate to me, and have had so great a share in acquiring the picture for Prussia." The picture had been in the possession of the family of the Duke di Terra Nuova, and before that it had been in Genoa.

camp, Herr von Heinz and Colonel von Alvensleben. The former was a very talented young man who had been aide-de-camp to General Pfuel, the well-known commander of 1848. Colonel von Alvensleben was a great traveller and a man of profound and solid learning, but rather heavy in conversation, so the Countess says.[1] Among the suite were Herr von Berg and Herr von Brandenstein, two steady and high principled young officers, intimate friends of the Prince; his physician, Dr. August Wegner,[2] a clever man, much appreciated by the Countess for his simple and modest character; and the eminent architect, Professor Strack,[3] who came as art instructor. Countess Bernstorff says that he played a somewhat comic part in society, and seems to have been rather the butt of his companions. The Prince arrived in high spirits, and laughingly told the Bernstorffs how much struck he was by the number of clean-looking people in the streets, and thought they must have been ordered to wash themselves "by Royal command," as is done in Russia. Two days after his arrival the baptism of Bernstorff's little son took place.

"The Prince is very friendly, has always the right word for every one, and shows a desire to give pleasure. With it all he is perfectly simple and natural, and there is nothing studied or affected about his friendliness. His charming disposition shows itself in every word and action. It is quite one of his gifts to be able to get on with persons of all ages, and he won the adoration of our

[1] The account of the Prince's tour is based on Countess Bernstorff's notes, written in French.

[2] Dr. August Wegner was raised to the rank of nobility during the short reign of the Emperor Friedrich. After serving the Crown Prince and Princess for many years he attained great distinction as a doctor in the army, and enjoyed the confidence of the Empress Friedrich up to the last. He died in 1905.

[3] Architect of Babelsberg, the old Kaiser Wilhelm's château at Potsdam.

children, making our Andreas very proud by popping his helmet on the child's head. The baby was christened Fortunato, for we considered that he was indeed favoured by fortune; first being born under so fair a sky, and secondly while far from his own home, in having his future King arrive in time to hold him at the font." The Countess told his Royal Highness this, and he hid behind the curtain, remarking that such words made him blush!

The Prince intended to go on to Sicily, and he requested Bernstorff to accompany him in place of General von Schreckenstein, who was ill. The Countess much wished to go with them, and the royal traveller desired it also, as she spoke the best Italian of the party. However, he would not venture to propose it, for he said that on board the vessel he would be the guest of the King, and he had, besides, a very large suite already. Some of the Court officials heard of his wishes and at the last moment a most graciously worded invitation came from the King to Countess Bernstorff, his Majesty saying that the boat being placed at the Prince's disposal, it was therefore a Prussian vessel, and that he could do precisely as he pleased with it.

So they started on their journey. The Prince was entertained right royally everywhere, though the people had but the vaguest ideas as to his identity. He had refused a review which had been arranged in his honour, but was told he really must go to it, for the soldiers would be much disappointed if they did not see him. He told the Bernstorffs afterwards that the evening before the review he had talked to one of the sentries, a Swiss in the King of Naples' service, and had learnt from him that a review was to take place on the morrow for the Tsar and Tsarina of Russia and their two sons! The

good fellow thought the Prince was a gentleman-in-waiting on the Tsar. This happened at Palermo, the first stopping place of the travellers in Sicily. After the review there was a little tea-party, at which the Prince related the following anecdote connected with his visit to St. Petersburg in 1852. The engines of the Russian man-of-war which was bringing him home broke down. The captain of the vessel, Prince Galitzin, however, would not allow him to embark on the mail-boat going from Travemünde to St. Petersburg, because he had been ordered by the Tsar to convey his guest to Swinemünde. The Russian insisted on blindly carrying out the Tsar's orders, so that his Royal Highness was in great danger, and there is no saying what might have happened had not one of the Grand Dukes—the heir to the throne—who was on the way to Berlin with his ship, chanced to fall in with them, and take the Prince on board. The Prince said he had had an aversion to Galitzin ever since.

Countess Bernstorff gives an attractive description of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm's doings and sayings during this journey, and speaks in high terms of his pure and innocent character, though she is obliged to admit that his excessive propriety—as was quite natural in so young a man —sometimes made him too severe in his judgments. For instance, he would scarcely notice the statue of Venus rising from the bath in the museum of antiquities at Syracuse, and had but little sympathy with "mythological exhibitions."[1] Attention is merely called to this fact, because in later years he became one of the greatest patrons of ancient art.

Prince Friedrich Wilhelm at this stage in his intellectual development was, perhaps, more attracted by the beauty of northern scenery than that of the south, and he

[1] In ordering sculptures at Rome he gave preference to a master of medieval subjects.

seemed sometimes reluctant to show any appreciation of the charms of Italy. Probably, however, he was often suffering from home-sickness during the tour, which would most naturally explain his state of mind. A youth is far more rapidly and profoundly influenced by such feelings, and does not know so well how to conceal them as a person of maturer years. To the dismay of his travelling companions he suddenly announced his intention of cutting short his journey, and they were within sight of Taormina when he said he would not land, but return direct to Naples. The Countess was much annoyed, for she could not understand how anyone could be in Sicily without wishing to visit that bit of earthly Paradise. Fortunately she was able to dissuade him from his plan. On another occasion he said to her: "This is the last time I shall stay in a country so far south." "As for myself," writes the Countess, "it made my heart bleed to think that it was, perhaps, the last time I should be in that heavenly country, and I pitied the Prince for having to leave this beautiful Italy so soon, and thought how lucky I was to be staying on here. I did not know how near my own time of departure was. At the moment I could not conceive how the Prince could calmly talk of never seeing the country again. To be sure a crown awaited him, and perhaps there is an attraction in that! But I am not going to waste time puzzling over the lot I would prefer! To make a long story short, although he said he probably would never visit this country again, he would not let us land at Catanea, and unless it had been for me he would not have had a sight of Taormina."

In Countess Bernstorff the Prince had with him a sight-seer who was literally glowing with enthusiasm. Taormina especially impressed her, and her description of the view from the upper terrace of the ancient amphitheatre merits

quotation. "The view," she writes, "was grand, combining every imaginable element of greatest loveliness. There was the luxuriant vegetation of Sicily, and an azure sea reflecting an equally blue Italian sky, while Etna, gigantic and shimmering white with snow, reared his mighty crest from amid a beautiful landscape clad in the first freshness of spring. We wished we could have seen more distinctly the column of smoke issuing from the mountain, but only faint traces of it were discernible amid the clouds which hovered over the crater. Still, we did just perceive it. We could scarcely tear ourselves away from the lovely prospect. I walked alongside the Prince in silence. He perhaps enjoyed all these beauties, though in a less degree than I; certainly he felt less pain at leaving them. I love the south dearly, with its sun and its warmth, and sometimes I find it quite impossible to believe I was not born here.

"After seeing Taormina his Royal Highness would not be detained any longer, and insisted on an immediate return to Naples without stopping at Messina. Why he wanted to do this was a mystery. Was he afraid of the sea or of meeting the French?[1] I do not think it was the latter, for he could easily have made inquiries at Messina before landing whether the French had arrived that evening. Was he tired? Was he upset by his journey, though he did not say so? I almost think it must have been that, for he was openly longing for it to come to an end, whereas I, who had my children at home and was looking forward so much to seeing them, would gladly have prolonged the journey for the sake of seeing Messina and its lighthouse by day."

The Bernstorffs were much pleased with what they saw of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm during this tour. "The close intercourse which we had with him was of great interest

[1] The Prince had been told that Prince Napoleon was coming to Messina.

to us. We had highly interesting conversations on every conceivable subject, and were much pleased to find we had so many political and religious ideas in common. Our tastes also coincided to quite an astonishing degree. But the best of all was that he had confidence in us." She records a pretty anecdote of their arrival at Naples on the return from Sicily. Directly they landed, the Prince hastened forward to meet little Andreas, who was waiting for his parents, and said: "How do you do, Andreas; are they all well at home?" And then he went back to tell the Countess there was good news. "I was deeply touched that he should have divined my wishes and made the inquiry." Some interesting details are also given of an expedition made by the Prince to Pompeii in the company of General von Schrekenstein, the Duke of Northumberland, the Bernstorffs, and Pastor Remy and his wife. When they reached Pompeii his Royal Highness humorously declared that he was sure all the finds were prepared beforehand, and that the excavators knew exactly what they were going to discover. Prince Castelcicala, who was with them, confirmed the Prince's statement, saying that such used indeed to be the case, and that he himself at an excavation heard one of the workmen say to another: "The candelabra are not to be discovered till the last." He, however, hastened to add that this sort of thing no longer occurred, and in proof of it suggested that his Royal Highness, who still appeared incredulous, should himself select the spot where they were to dig. The result showed, at any rate, that it would be better to prepare the places beforehand, for they only discovered some rusty nails and several bits of door-locks. The poor superintendent of the excavations was in despair at the insignificance of the discovery, so they dug again in another place, but the result, though better, did not amount to

much. However, it proved that no preparation had been made beforehand, and the Prince was much more interested in the discoveries than he would otherwise have been. The Neapolitan gentlemen present seemed rather embarrassed, and the superintendent told Countess Bernstorff that he should ask the King to present the Prince with a few things from the Museum to dissipate the bad impression created by such poor specimens as they had discovered. He therefore requested her to find out what kind of articles would give the Prince the greatest pleasure. The Countess had already cleverly contrived to find out that he would like some bronzes, and above all a large candelabrum. Luncheon was provided for the party in the old house where the baths had been. An awning was extended to protect them from the sun, and beneath it was placed a richly appointed table. The Countess could not praise too highly the magnificent hospitality of the King, nor the assiduous attentions of his chief officials. The other Neapolitan gentlemen in attendance also took the greatest pains to show every possible civility to their distinguished guest and his suite. After lunch other famous buildings at Pompeii were visited.

This episode is worthy of mention, as it shows the Prince's unaffected and truth-loving character, which withstood all courtly amenities. In matters of etiquette indeed, his own German ideas would frequently come into opposition with the custom of the country. For instance, Bernstorff had some trouble in persuading him to appear at the gala festivities in Naples in mufti instead of in uniform as in Germany, and in convincing him that ordinary evening dress was full dress for all great functions. Prince Friedrich Wilhelm was calmly contemptuous of the Neapolitan superstitions, and at the theatre he quietly sat next the Duke di Ventignano, who had the reputation in town of being

a "jettatore," or possessed of the evil eye. This man, it was said, had brought misfortune to all those with whom he had to do, and was therefore shunned by every one. For example, he had been sent on a diplomatic mission to Paris to the Court of Charles X., and the day after his audience the King had to fly from Paris never to return. Later when, as Minister, he had had an interview with the Pope, the Holy Father had fallen seriously ill. Scores of similar stories were current. "Without sharing the superstitions of the Italians," writes the Countess, "it did give me a pang, nevertheless, to see this man in the box with the Prince."

"We were very sorry to say good-bye to the Prince, and we also regretted the departure of the gentlemen of his suite, with whom we had had long talks about home, and whose society had been a great pleasure to us."

When the gentlemen-in-waiting parted from the Bernstorffs at Capua they expressed a hope of meeting them soon again. The Countess rejoined that this was scarcely likely, as they had no thoughts of going away or of going on leave at present. Whereupon Herr von Alvensleben suddenly said: "Who knows but that you may soon be going to London. Bunsen can't stop there." "This was," writes the Countess, "a prophecy only too soon to be fulfilled. Prince Castelcicala, the Court Marshal, then came to tell the Prince everything was ready. The latter thanked us once more for all we had done, shook us warmly by the hand, embraced Andreas, who was quite pale with excitement, and then got into the carriage with Castelcicala, who was to accompany him as far as the frontier, and a cloud of dust soon hid him from sight."

The "Reminiscences" of the Naples period concluded thus: "When we returned to our tranquil every-day life, it was a delight to look back upon the weeks just passed, in

which we had the pleasure of seeing under the most favourable conditions, and in their full beauty, all those famous spots which the poets have made immortal. We also were looking forward with joyful anticipation to spending a beautiful summer at Sorrento. All at once gloomy rumours reached us from the great world of politics, and we were wakened from our dream. We felt as though some far-away storm were menacing our happy existence at Naples, but we did not, or perhaps would not at first believe it could really come near us.

"On May 1st my husband got a telegram appointing him Minister to London, with instructions to start without delay. So with one stroke our comparatively easy life amid surroundings transfigured with the spirit of romance was brought to an end, and my husband was again plunged into the turmoil of European politics. I will not dwell upon what we both felt at the news. As to the compliment implied to my husband by this appointment, I fear we thought very little about it. It was with the deepest regret we left the place where we had spent such an ideal time, and when I thought of our Vienna experiences, I was full of concern at the prospect of my husband returning to the great political world, the more so as I had been so much cheered during our residence at Naples by the improvement in his health. Then there were the disagreeables which every change of residence involves, and the difficulties of moving with three children. Still, these small worries perhaps helped us over the sad moment of parting. Among these I must count the refusal of the nurse to accompany us, and a slight indisposition of Andreas and Therese.

"I was so glad to see the children better and to have got over other difficulties, and there was such a bustle and confusion in going on board that there was no time to feel

the pang of parting. Our anxiety about our youngest child, our fear lest this delicate Southern plant might not bear transplanting to a Northern climate, and our wish to avoid everything that could in any way do him harm occupied all our thoughts. He was our first consideration. When we had got him down into the cabin, and had watched him drop off to sleep smiling, there was only just time left to bid adieu to our friends who had come on board to see us off. Then, the captain's voice was heard giving the signal for departure, our friends left, the paddles were set in motion, and we quitted the harbour. Once more Naples was enfolded before us, then she vanished from our gaze, and we went forth in uncertainty to begin a new life. What would that life bring us? Our little Bimbo seemed to have inherited the happy carelessness of his country people. His clear blue eyes seemed to reflect the sky under which he was born, and he never opened his mouth but to smile. The rough sea, the stuffy cabin, his nurse's seasickness, nothing disturbed him or made him cry. We reached Genoa punctually, and his father took him in his arms and carried him sleeping to the tossing-boat which was to convey us to the shore. Then a silver laugh issuing from the pillows told us he had just awaked. We had a good journey via Turin, Mont Cenis, Geneva, Lucerne, Basle, and Frankfort. But enough of that; one should not mingle prose with poetry. I must close this portion of my recollections with profound thankfulness and an expression of intense affection for the fair country where we spent such happy days, where my husband recovered his health, and where our dear little boy first saw the light."

CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNING OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

The attitude of the powers at the commencement of the war—The different courses of action open to Prussia—The Prince of Prussia and Bernstorff—The Austro-Prussian alliance of April 20th, 1854—Friedrich Wilhelm IV. and Manteuffel—Bernstorff in England—Difficulty of settling down to English ways—The English Court—Prominent members of society in England, and European diplomacy—Queen Marie Amélie and the Orleans family.

AT the moment of Bernstorff's arrival in London as Prussian representative, the diplomacy of the European powers found itself confronted with problems of the greatest magnitude. The Eastern Question, which had been revived by the struggle between the Roman and Greek Churches for the possession of the Holy places in Jerusalem had now reached a very critical phase, and all friends of peace viewed with apprehension the prospect of a terrible war in which the interests of the whole continent of Europe would be involved.

The situation, by virtue of which Russia had hitherto exercised an immensely preponderating influence upon the destinies of central Europe, was now changed beyond recognition. A dynasty detested by Russia was occupying the throne of France, and Napoleon III. had the astuteness to make an ally of England and to turn to skilful account the fears of the English Government at the prospect of a downfall of the Ottoman Empire. He had been the prime mover of the alliance of the Western Powers, and they now made a successful attempt to gain Austria for their side.

She was known, indeed, to be under obligations to Russia, who had rescued her but a short time before from the clutches of the revolution, but the premature occupation of the Danube Principalities by Russian troops had stifled all feelings of gratitude in Vienna.

Prussia played a waiting game with respect to the whole imbroglio. This rendered Bernstorff's position in London almost as difficult as it had been in Vienna, for he had to attend to Manteuffel's instructions as well as those of the King, who often gave totally different commands. Manteuffel wished, in any case, to keep his country out of war, and wanted Prussia and Austria to combine as neutrals, and thus make it impossible for the belligerents to drag central Europe into the struggle. His attitude towards the Western Powers was a less friendly one in every way than that of the King of Prussia, who was filled with conflicting sentiments. Friedrich William IV. had a respect for the Tsar, whom he regarded as the *point d'appui* of universal conservatism, and as the champion of Christianity against Islamism. On the other hand, he esteemed England highly as a Protestant power. Bunsen, Count Bernstorff's predecessor, had become acquainted chiefly with the Anglophile side of the King's character, and consequently his utterances in London, as, for example, in the negotiations about the Jerusalem Bishopric, had led the English to suppose that, in the event of war in the East, Prussia would unfurl her banner on the side of the Western Powers. This error led to his fall, for when Prussia refused to conclude an alliance with the Western Powers for the purpose of forcing Russia to withdraw her troops from Moldavia and Wallachia, Bunsen's position in London became untenable. On this and other grounds which cannot be entered into here, it appeared imperative he should leave. No sooner, however, had he quitted London than every one there began to bewail

his departure. This alone was sufficient to aggravate the difficulties of his successor, to say nothing of the suspicion with which English statesmen regarded Prussia throughout the entire campaign; and their mistrust was not lessened by the alliance made on April 20th, 1854, between that country and Austria. This was viewed in London as an attempt on the part of the Berlin Court to draw Austria into her system of neutrality, whereas England wanted to gain Austria as an *active* ally. Altogether this treaty was fated to be misconstrued all round. In Austria it was thought to be directed against Turkey, whilst Prussia imagined it was aimed at France. Russia was angry at the "desertion" of Prussia, and even in Berlin itself the compact gave rise to a wild outburst of party feeling.

Multifarious opinions existed in Prussia as to what the Government ought to do under the circumstances. Bismarck's policy, for instance, was to establish a strong Prussian army in Germany and to employ every opportunity of wringing important concessions from Austria on the German question. But the leading bureaucrats could not be induced to acquiesce in this, and public opinion was so full of conflicting elements that no definite conclusions could be arrived at. The Liberals wished Prussia to ally herself unreservedly with the Western Powers, in order to destroy the tyranny of Russia, that "Colossus with clay feet," that "stronghold of Reaction." Others of the extreme Right, under the leadership of General Leopold von Gerlach, and his supporters, Niebuhr, Dohna, Groeben and others, strove for a strong alliance with Russia, regarding the Tsar as the champion who would bruise the head of the "Revolutionary Dragon."

In addition to these parties, we may mention two other groups. One consisting of men like Goltz, Pourtalès, Bethmann-Hollweg and others, demanded that Prussia should join a coalition composed of the Western Powers and

Austria, and should dictate terms of peace to Russia, which would enable her to take up her old position as one of the great European powers. The second group desired to preserve Prussia's neutrality, but wished the whole question to be regulated by a European Congress, in which Prussia should take a prominent part.

The opinions of these two last groups coincided very nearly with those of the Prince of Prussia and of Bernstorff, both of whom thought the time had come for checking what they considered the pernicious influence of Russia upon the destinies of Europe, and more especially, upon those of Prussia. The Russian Empire was not to be injured in any way, but merely to be shown its proper place.[1]

Bernstorff's personal experience was an additional reason for his agreement with the Prince's views. At Vienna he had been witness of the way in which Prussia was forced into the Olmütz terms, simply by the conduct of Russia. Opinions are changed in many respects in the present day as to the power of Russia, but at that time, even those who did not belong to the Liberal party believed that she was able to impose a sort of vassalage upon the whole continent of Europe. In view of this danger, England, which, with all her faults, was the representative of popular liberty, seemed to be the one strong element of opposition to Russian encroachment.

A policy of absolute neutrality on Prussia's part had

[1] Long afterwards the Prince Regent in a letter to Manteuffel recapitulated the motives which had led to his action. "I wanted to save Russia from war, so that she should not lose her prestige, but wished her to be obliged to yield to a coalition of European powers which would be able to administer a reprimand to her. . . . My desire, which I have had for years, was that Russia should not suffer by sea or land; neither in her fleet, her army, nor in her prestige, but rather atone for her mistake in occupying the Principalities by evacuating them at once. It would then not have come to war with the Western Powers, for they would have had us to deal with." "Poschinger," III., 231. As cited above.

certainly much to recommend it; the only question was whether such a policy could under existing circumstances be efficiently carried out. What occasioned Bernstorff the most uneasiness was the inconsistent conduct of the Prussian Government. He thought, as did the Prince of Prussia, that if the balance kept inclining first to the side of the Western Powers and then to the side of Russia, that Prussia would end by making herself enemies of all the Powers, and when peace was concluded, she would have to pay the costs.

It was under such uncertain conditions, without any firm support at home, and mistrusted by politicians in England, that Bernstorff took up his duties in London, at midsummer, 1854. In order rightly to comprehend the feelings which then prevailed in England towards other European countries, it is necessary to realize the part which England was playing in the world at large. The words of the great German poet were even more applicable to British commerce then, than they had been at the beginning of the century: "Seine Handelsflotten streckt der Brite gierig wie Polypenarme aus, und das Reich der freien Amphitrite will er schliessen, wie sein eigen Haus." British commercial interests encircled the globe, and the London Stock Exchange was the money market of the whole world. British policy regarded other countries merely as markets for English goods, and English industries had already reached a high pitch of excellence at a time when those of other countries were still more or less in their infancy. Was it any wonder, therefore, that the average Englishman should look upon himself as a being elected by Providence for the rulership of the nations, or that every beggar woman and ragged street urchin who tramped the thoroughfares of London should proudly vaunt themselves to the foreigner on the strength of their English birth?

As had ever been their wont, the English troubled them-

selves but little about continental politics, and as for German affairs, they disposed of them in a few general terms. According to English newspapers, the Germans might think themselves lucky to be supplied with good commodities, thanks to England's trade and industry, while the little German states—all of them were little in England's eyes—could not do better than devote their money and their lives to English interests. To refuse to do so would surely be to transgress the first principles of culture and civilization! England still considered herself the first military power of the day. That her whole army system was really in the most dilapidated condition no one would have dared to suggest to an Englishman at the beginning of the Crimean War. The achievements of Prussia in the Napoleonic campaigns and those of Blücher at Waterloo had been long ago forgotten, and the prestige of the Prussian army had, in the eyes of the English people, suffered severely, especially of recent years, the concessions of Olmütz being attributed to a lack of military power. Of course those English bureaucrats who were behind the scenes knew better what Prussia's army was worth. Hence the endeavours made to attract that country to the side of the Western Powers. In England it was also the fashion for men to deride the rudimentary form of the Prussian constitution, without perceiving the faults of their own parliamentary system. Now, if one takes into account all these views and opinions current among Englishmen, it is easy to realize what the country was to which Bernstorff came as Prussian representative, and the difficulties with which he had to contend, difficulties enhanced by the extreme tension of the moment.

The Bernstorffs passed through a rather depressing transition period so far as their personal comfort was concerned, for it was some time ere they could accustom

themselves to their new conditions of life and their social environment. It was with the greatest regret they exchanged the sunny south for the fogs of London, and they had difficulty in habituating themselves to the climate and the reserve of the English character. Even the house was a disappointment to them. It was built on the plan of most English houses, and its size and the number of stairs prevented the different members of the family from seeing as much of one another as they had done in Italy. The household arrangements, which required a large staff of servants, were a great trial to the Countess. Nevertheless, in course of time she and her husband grew deeply attached to this home, as they did to the country and its people, whose great and noble qualities they admired and esteemed, and when the time came to leave London, they did so with reluctance, and parted with affectionate regret from all their English friends. It had become a second home to them. Writing as recently as 1880, Countess Bernstorff expresses her warm regard for England :—

"Those who have read my reminiscences of Naples will have realized how I enjoyed living there, and how much I loved the place; so much, *that I fear my first impressions of England were unfavourably prejudiced.* I wrote no journals in later years, so that I should like here to express my warm affection for, and my grateful remembrance of, that dear country. The nineteen years I spent in England were very happy ones, and I retain the greatest admiration for that mighty empire and everything concerning it. We have a great number of friends in England. I experienced the greatest grief and suffering there, and this painful experience gave me the opportunity of finding out how much can be done by kindness, tender friendship and most touching attentions to alleviate the severe sufferings of a sick person, and the anxiety of his relations. I am

glad to be able to give this testimony and express my heartfelt gratitude. The sympathy and friendship shown us by all classes in England touched us deeply."

Among the first to greet the new Prussian Minister were the Queen and Prince Albert, who received him with the greatest friendliness. His first audience was a very short one, however.

"The Queen received my husband in her travelling dress, as she was going to start on a journey immediately after the audience. She was very gracious, and quietly waited for him to get to the end of his little speech before answering him. In reply she made use, amongst other expressions, of the following: "I hope the moment has arrived for Prussia to join us"—by which she meant to say to join her. She uttered these words with a certain effort, and when she had done so she looked at Lord Clarendon[1] with a smile of satisfaction. Prince Albert, who had kept in the background, then joined in the conversation without my husband having been presented to him."

Owing to the Queen's absence the Bernstorffs did not receive an invitation to Court until some time later, when they were asked to Windsor. Its gloomy mass, sharply outlined against the evening sky, made a powerful impression on the Countess, but the magnificence of the interior excited her great admiration. She describes their visit as follows:—

"The courtyard of the castle lay in absolute stillness—one might have imagined oneself approaching an uninhabited castle in a fairy tale—no sentries, no sound, no stir. But the moment our carriage drew up at the entrance, an attendant appeared, followed by porters, who

[1] George William Frederick Villiers, Earl of Clarendon; born 1800, died 1870. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Coalition Government of Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell.

seemed as if they had suddenly sprung out of the earth. The attendant, after inquiring in perfect German whether we were Count and Countess Bernstorff, led the way with a bow, the porters taking possession of our trunks. The day was cold, and we were glad to find our rooms well warmed and replete with every comfort of the usual English type. There were three rooms opening out of one another, and separated by a little passage from the celebrated Long Gallery. A number of rooms open on to this gallery, which runs the whole length of the castle, and terminates in the Queen's apartments. It is adorned with beautiful paintings by old and recent masters. I cannot describe the pleasing effect produced on one by these pictures, and by the cheerful little rooms, so warm and snug and well furnished. What would I not have given for one such room in our London house. . . ."

Soon after their arrival they were received by the Queen.

"There is something very sympathetic, yet peculiar about the Queen which strikes one the first moment one sees her. There is a slight touch of shyness about her whole bearing. She moves briskly, and as she walks, she has a way of slightly raising first one shoulder and then the other. She had on a blue silk dress with lace flounces, and over it was the ribbon of the Garter. Her profile is pretty, but "en face" she is less good-looking, and her complexion is apt to get very red. . . . Prince Albert is a handsome man, but rather awkward and shy. The Prince has a very difficult position, which may have had an effect upon his whole nature, though many people say he has always been exactly the same. . . . He is always to a certain extent on the qui vive, seems to be on his dignity, and does not look so contented as the Queen, whose expression is that of perfect bliss. She is a happy wife and a happy mother, knows only the pleasant side of royalty, and none of

its drawbacks. She has the joys of family life, together with all the privileges of her exalted station, and the exercise of those privileges is not the least irksome to her. It seems to me the Queen must be the most fortunate woman in the whole world; she certainly looks so! She married after her own heart, has fine children, and always enjoys the most perfect health. She smiles at the Prince from time to time, and is particularly charming to him. They say she tries thus to make him forget the many disagreeables of his position. The Prince is very fond of sport, and takes a great interest in his model farm and its show cattle. If he wishes to mix in politics and current affairs, he has to do so more or less behind the scenes. But he has now, at all events, the right of taking part in the Privy Council, and of giving advice to the Queen, which formerly he was prohibited from doing."

The following passage describes a dinner at which Count and Countess Bernstorff were present when on a visit to the Queen :—

"All these Court dinners are alike. The Queen walked to the dining-room on Prince Hohenlohe's arm to the strains of 'God save the Queen.' Prince Albert, with a bow to me as he passed, offered his arm to the Duchess of Cambridge. Behind him came my husband with Princess Mary, and I followed with Lord Burghersh.[1] The Queen sat at the middle of the table, having Prince Hohenlohe on her right and my husband on her left. Prince Albert was opposite, with the Duchess of Cambridge on his right, while I was on his left. The table was

[1] Lord Burghersh came of an old and illustrious family which traced its origin back to the Earls of Westmorland. The title went to the Neville branch of the family, and from them, through the female line, to Francis Fane, who in 1824 was raised to the title of Baron Burghersh and Earl of Westmorland.

sumptuously laid out with dessert in the centre, and only a few dishes for dinner were actually on it. The attendance was a mixture of French and English styles. A large staff of servants waited on us in blue coats with gold buttons; there were also some powdered footmen in red liveries, and two Scotch servants; I think I counted about thirty altogether. Prince Albert and the gentlemen belonging to her Majesty's Court wore dress coats of blue cloth with red collars. The costume was exactly like the undress uniform of the Prussian chamberlains. It is called the 'Windsor uniform,' and was introduced by King George III.; it is considered an especial favour to be allowed to wear it. The costume is completed by closely-fitting black trousers down to the ankles. Prince Albert and Lord Clarendon each had on the Order of the Garter, a blue silk ribbon worn below the knee, with the words in gold: 'Honi soit qui mal y pense.'

"The Queen glanced at me kindly several times during the meal, and I learned later that she had taken a fancy to me. I was also informed that she thought a great deal of outward appearance and of dress, which greatly surprised me, as I should have imagined exactly the reverse of her. After dessert the Queen rose, and with her the entire company. 'God save the Queen' was again played as she went to the drawing-room, followed by all the ladies; the gentlemen, according to English custom, remaining in the dining-room. The Queen took up her position in front of the fireplace, with the Duchess of Cambridge and her daughter, and they talked together in a most unaffected way, such as is rare among royalties. The conversation was in English. Princess Mary sometimes touched the lace on the Queen's dress, and was quite free and unconstrained with her. The Queen sat on a sofa with the Princesses near the fire, whilst we other ladies remained standing behind

it.[1] Our conversation was less stiff than is usual at Court. Lady Desart[2] even leaned against the sofa and turned her back to the Queen. After her Majesty had been talking to the Duchess of Cambridge for a good half-hour, she came up to me and entered into a very animated conversation. One loses all embarrassment at once in her company. She is neither shy nor absorbed in cares of state, and talks to one most openly, which makes her easy to get on with. Many people complain that she is moody and capricious, and I can quite believe that if she does not like a person, she is too honest to hide it. She talked to me—all the time in German—about the Princess of Prussia and various other matters concerning myself. Then, after a few minutes' conversation with Lady Clarendon, she said to one of her ladies-in-waiting: 'Send for the gentlemen.' The lady despatched one of the attendants who were in the room, and a few minutes afterwards Prince Albert came in and bowed somewhat awkwardly. Then the door opened to admit one gentleman after another, each bowing profoundly as he entered.

"The Prince gathered a little knot of gentlemen about him, and we stood for nearly two hours, after which we adjourned to the second drawing-room, where the Queen sat down on a sofa with a little round table in front of it.[3] The Duchess of Cambridge was on one side of her, Prince Albert sat on a chair on her left, and next to him was

[1] The Queen, whose health was most robust, could not understand that many of the ladies were unable to bear the long standing, so that she was much astonished when one of them, on an occasion mentioned by the Countess, fainted away from the strain.

[2] Lord and Lady Desart were Court functionaries whose duty it was to receive the Queen's guests.

[1] This round table played an important part in the Queen's receptions. It was a great honour to be admitted to it, an honour which often fell to the Countess. During the Crimean War the Ministers in office used to bring the despatches they had received to this table.

Princess Mary of Cambridge, then myself, Lady Clarendon, Lady Desart, my husband, and Lord Clarendon. The other gentlemen sat at another table with the maids of honour, and four of them played whist. The Queen's orchestra played admirably in the room we had just left, and during the music conversation was quietly continued, and in German, notwithstanding the presence of English people. The Queen always speaks German in private life to the Prince and to the children, which the English do not much like ; they declare she speaks English with a foreign accent, and that Prince Albert has not made any progress with the language since he came to England.[1] An attendant brought the Queen a glass of water on a silver tray, and light refreshments were handed to us. Prince Albert applauded after each piece of music. He looked very tired.

"Immediately after the last piece had been performed, the Queen rose quite suddenly, and wished us good night, made a hurried bow to the company, and abruptly withdrew. After she had gone, the Master of the Household came to tell my husband that the Prince invited him to shoot next morning at half-past ten. Then we all retired to our rooms. A card had been affixed to the door of our sitting-room, with our name on it. Lord and Lady Clarendon had rooms close to ours.

[1] "The Queen," writes the Countess, "is pre-eminently *German*. She is of German origin, having a German mother, and is married to a German. She is also very German in feeling, and tried to introduce many German customs. For example, Christmas-trees have become known in England since she came to the throne. She has German housemaids and men-servants, and she constantly speaks German to the Prince Consort, all which things are displeasing to the English. They would have preferred her to have married her cousin, Prince George of Cambridge."

Neither the editor of the "Bernstorff Papers," nor Countess Bernstorff herself, seem to have been aware that Queen Adelaide, Consort of William IV., first introduced Christmas-trees into England.—Tr.

"We had a very good night and went down to breakfast at nine o'clock. Lord Desart received the guests, besides whom and the servants there was no one in the room, the gentleman in attendance on the Queen breakfasting in another room. The breakfast consisted of coffee and tea, cold meat, and jam, and we each sat down to it as we came in without waiting for the other guests. Directly we had finished we could leave the room, read the papers, or talk—every one being perfectly at liberty to do as he liked. . . . My husband then went off shooting. He and one of the Prince's gentlemen got into a carriage for two, driven by a postilion, as are all the Queen's carriages which I have seen so far. Prince Albert rode attended by one of his gentlemen and two grooms, both wearing the same livery as the postilion, short black jackets and blue trousers. My husband had put on a German hunting cap, but was told he must wear a top hat. He thought that the shooting party would last the greater part of the day, so he was very much astonished at returning for luncheon.

"Soon after the Prince's departure, the Queen went for a drive in a barouche drawn by four horses preceded by two outriders and followed by an aide-de-camp. Since the numerous attempts on her life, her Majesty never leaves the house without a body-guard, and even when she drives out with the Prince she always has at any rate two gentlemen of the Court with her. I spent the time till luncheon in calling on the Queen's ladies, and on Lady Caroline Barrington, who has the superintendence of the royal children. I had to go up an immense number of stairs, and wind in and out of innumerable corridors. The Queen has a private staircase leading from her apartments to those of the children. I passed the Princess Royal's room, the door of which stood open, and I could see that it was furnished with the greatest simplicity. At every few hundred paces

along the corridors there are installations of fire-hose. I told Lady Caroline I wished to see the children, and she said she would speak to the Queen about it, who would, she was sure, be pleased to allow me to do so; she did not, however, seem able to give the permission on her own responsibility. The Queen is much taken up with her children. In the morning they go down to her, and the elder ones have breakfast with her and the Prince. The two o'clock lunch is the children's dinner. At six o'clock they have tea with her and then play in her apartments with her and Prince Albert. She often takes them out driving also. They are all very strictly brought up. Those who have the charge of them are ordered not to spoil them, and are told to let them do everything they can for themselves, only giving them such assistance in their toilet as is absolutely necessary. If one of the children refuses to eat what is given him, he is sent away from the table.

"Since the Queen's marriage, an attempt has been made to reduce the excessive luxury of the Court and to simplify the household arrangements after the continental pattern.[1] The odium of this innovation has fallen on Prince Albert, who as a foreigner is accused of stinginess. Everything the English do not like at Court is put down to his account. The Prince is not popular with them, but then, no foreign prince ever would be. They express their dislike of him,

[1] Baron von Stockmar told Countess Bernstorff that the greatest confusion had previously existed in the Royal Household, owing to the peculiar organization, the domestic duties being divided between a great many different departments. On one occasion the Queen had wanted a fire made, and all sorts of people had to be applied to. The duty of one person was only to bring wood, of another to lay the fire, of a third to keep it burning, etc. Again, the outside window-cleaning came into the Lord Chamberlain's department, whilst the inside cleaning was in that of the Lord Steward.

Baron Stockmar was the trusted friend and secretary of Prince Leopold of Coburg, afterwards King of the Belgians. By him he was recommended to the English Court. His memoirs have been published by his son.

but *sotto voce* of course. Nevertheless, they cannot deny that he has much to recommend him.

"The number of persons with whom the Queen associates is a very limited one. Only the representatives of the four great Powers, the Ministers, with a few other personages of high position, are invited to Windsor, although there is nothing to prevent her Majesty moving in a far larger circle should she so desire. Moreover, she herself complains of the life at Windsor. That which she leads in Scotland and at Osborne is far more lively, for there are shooting-parties, excursions into the mountains, on ponies or on foot, yachting, etc. She is very loath to have her retirement at Osborne interrupted by having to receive her Ministers or a foreign diplomat. As a rule, the further from her Ministers the happier she is."

One of Count and Countess Bernstorff's earliest acquaintances among the English aristocracy was Lord Granville,[1] whom the Countess describes as a very gentle, quiet man. She speaks of Lady Granville as charming and intellectual, but from her mixture of Italian, French, and English blood somewhat nervous and excitable. She was the widow of Sir Ferdinand Acton, and only child of the last Duc de Dalberg.

Just before going to Windsor Count and Countess Bernstorff dined with Lord Palmerston.[2] He is "amazingly well preserved," writes the Countess: "though he is sixty years old, he looks barely fifty. He rides and rows and takes a great deal of exercise. His wife[3] is one of the most charming persons I ever met. She has great knowledge of the world, and is full of *bonhommie*. She speaks

[1] Granville George Leveson-Gower, second Earl Granville. Born 1815, died 1891.

[2] Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston. Born 1784, died 1865.

[3] Lady Palmerston was the sister of Lord Melbourne.—Tr.

French very well, and still has traces of her extraordinary beauty. Her first husband was Lord Cowper. She is devoted to Lord Palmerston, and is very ambitious for him. She is said to have political talent, but it is really tact and skill in attaching people to her circle who can be of use to her husband in the Upper and Lower House."

Count and Countess Bernstorff met Lord and Lady Shaftesbury for the first time the same evening. The latter was Lord Palmerston's step-daughter.

"Lord Shaftesbury,"[1] writes the Countess, "is a great philanthropist, and his wife is an extremely beautiful woman for her age—five and forty. There was a little rout after dinner at which I made several new acquaintances, among them Lady Alice Peel and Lady Jersey, who were exceedingly civil to me. Both are very strongly in sympathy with Russia. We also made the acquaintance of the Duchess of Inverness, widow of the Duke of Sussex[2] by a morganatic marriage. He was the Queen's uncle. She receives a great deal, especially foreigners. We appreciated her friendliness highly and her free and unbounded hospitality. Society had left town after the season, so that we only met a few families who had lingered behind, and we were pleased to receive an invitation from Lord and Lady Clarendon. He is one of the most agreeable men I know; he is sparkling and vivacious, full of wit and merriment, and a thorough man of the world. He also speaks French very well. According to English notions, he is free and easy. Thus he went so far—this anecdote is very characteristic of England—as, *horribile dictu*, to smoke in a cab in Piccadilly, a thing con-

[1] Anthony Ashley Cooper, the great philanthropist. Born 1801, died 1885.

[2] Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, born 1773, died 1843, sixth son of George III. His first marriage to a daughter of Lord Dunmore was annulled, and he married, secondly, a daughter of the Earl of Arran. She was created Duchess of Inverness in 1840.

sidered very 'shocking' here! Notwithstanding his charm of manner, he is somewhat nervous and irritable. Lady Clarendon is an excellent wife, and has a very placid disposition. . . .

"I cannot say that we were much struck by the style and magnificence of the London drawing-rooms. They are small compared with those on the Continent, and not nearly so well lighted. On another occasion I made the acquaintance of Disraeli,[1] with whom I ventured to speak English, though I had almost forgotten it. I talked about his books, particularly 'Coningsby,' which seemed to flatter him, for he asked me to introduce him to my husband, and he thanked me for the interesting evening I had given him. Disraeli has a very marked Jewish countenance; he is a man of remarkable talent and great ambition. His wife is very rich and so much older than he that it is rather laughable, but he is very good to her. The Portuguese Minister was the only one of our colleagues who invited us to dinner. Count Lavradio is an intellectual man, very courteous and clever. As an old diplomat he is regarded in London as the Nestor of Diplomacy. He is highly thought of at Court, is much consulted by his colleagues, and he and his wife are very popular. It is almost impossible to enumerate all the people I met at this dinner; I had an old peer on one side and Count Vitzthum, the Saxon Minister, on the other. He has been here two years. I asked him the names of several people, particularly that of the lady on my left and the gentleman on my right, but he replied in a blasé sort of way that he did not know, and that it was not necessary to know every one present. Count Vitzthum comes of a good Saxon family. He is

[1] Benjamin Disraeli, the celebrated statesman, came of an illustrious Jewish family, which had migrated to Venice on account of the Spanish Inquisition. From thence it came to England. He was born in 1805 and died in 1881.

something like a stoat, has a caustic way of speaking, and an aggressive manner. He is vain, ambitious, blasé and restless, and animated by a strong predilection for Austria and a great antipathy to Prussia, so that under present circumstances he has to be cautious. However, he puts a good face on it with us, and often calls and enters into political discussions."

Soon after this the Countess paid a visit to the Duchess of Cambridge and her daughter, Princess Mary, at their beautiful residence in the park at Kew, and she also visited the Duchess of Gloucester, a daughter of the late King, George III., and widow of his cousin, the Duke of Gloucester. She speaks of both these Duchesses in terms of the warmest appreciation, and expresses herself as particularly struck by the simplicity of all the English princesses. Of a visit to Claremont she writes as follows :—

"I went to call on Queen Marie Amélie, the widow of Louis Philippe, to whom my father was accredited during his eighteen years' reign. She had taken an interest in me year by year as I grew up, and had always been kind to me and to my parents. She was living at the Palace of Claremont, about twelve miles from London. It is situated in a fine park, but has a dull and melancholy appearance. We were admitted by a servant in the Orleans blue livery, who asked us to come into the drawing-room. There was a large bust of Louis Philippe on the chimney-piece, and in the room hung portraits of the King of the Belgians and his first wife, Princess Charlotte, heir to the throne of England, who was carried off by an untimely death in the flower of her youth. The palace, which was assigned by the English Government to this Princess and her husband, was afterwards offered by the latter as a refuge to the exiled Orleans family.

"On entering the room I perceived at the further end

the Queen, with the Duke and Duchess de Nemours and the Princess de Joinville. I was deeply moved at seeing the Queen again, and in exile. She had always been a model to me of all that a Christian woman, a mother and a Queen, should be. She had shown herself truly great when on the throne, but she was still greater now in her exile. Although she differed essentially from her husband's opinions, and was aware of his faults, she was faithful in the fulfilment of her royal duties, and used the opportunities her position gave her for conferring benefits and speaking words of peace and consolation to all who needed them. . . .

"Without being good-looking, she has too strongly marked features for that; her countenance has a noble, majestic expression. Long white curls cluster about her head, and her face has an expression of the greatest kindness, and so has her voice. . . . I saw her last in 1842, in deep mourning, a few months after the death of the Duke of Orleans, and I saw her again now, a widow, and in exile, far away from the grave of her beloved son.[1] She welcomed me with the same warmth and cordiality she had lavished on me in Paris. The tranquil cheerfulness which pervades her whole personality calmed my excited feelings. Through all her misfortunes she has retained the same fresh sympathy, and her truly religious mind and trust in God are a constant support to her. . . . She was dressed very simply in a black silk, and the Princesses were in muslin.

"The Duchess de Nemours was once a great beauty, and she is still, in many ways, though she has grown thinner, and her complexion is too red. She has very regular features and magnificent fair hair, but very little expression, which seems to be accentuated by her dull, drawling way of speaking. Her husband makes much the same

[1] The young Duke of Orleans, the heir to the throne, had, it will be remembered, met with an untimely death by a fall from his carriage.

impression on one. He is very imperturbable, and much resembles the portraits of Henry IV. In the Revolution of 1848 he showed great courage and sang-froid . . . but he lacks the fire of enthusiasm which is necessary to control the aberrations of a mob and recall them to a sense of duty. He brought about the rapprochement of the two branches of the family, was the first to visit the Duke de Bordeaux, and strongly advised his family to follow his example. He is a great Legitimist, and it is said he has even blamed his father's conduct. . . . 'Six years are not much in history,' the Duke de Nemours said to me, 'but when they are passed day after day at Claremont they are long indeed.'"

The Prince de Joinville is thus described :—

"He never appears in society, and his health is so impaired that he looks an old man. He is nearly bald, only a few straggling locks about the temples. A deep despondency seems to pervade his whole being; one may truly say that misfortune has broken his heart. Added to all this, he is very deaf. Being a Frenchman to the core, he detests England, and groans at the inactivity to which he is condemned here. The Anglo-French alliance is antipathetic to him, and he thinks it hateful to have to live under the protection of a country which he has always regarded as the enemy of France. His family think that had it not been for his deafness he would have got over his aversion to England and taken his place in English society. The Princess de Joinville is small and thin, and has a very yellow complexion. Having been brought up in a sunny country, she suffers greatly from the English climate, and the life at Claremont is not in any way calculated to cheer her."

We may conclude with the following sketch of the Duke d'Aumale :—

"The Duke d'Aumale, Queen Marie's third son, is of all the Orleans Princes, the one who seems to suffer the least. In many respects, indeed, his position may be described as the best, for he is very rich and has a beautiful home at Twickenham, where he devotes himself to his studies. He is now engaged upon a history of the House of Condé. He is surrounded by memorials of his forefathers, pictures, arms, and books, with which his house is abundantly furnished, whilst his mother and brothers spend their lives in a palace belonging to foreigners where there is not a trace of anything to remind them of the past history of their race. The Duke d'Aumale is a thorough Frenchman, and of a very cheerful, ardent temperament. These qualities make him the life of the party at Claremont. 'What should we do without d'Aumale?' the Duchess de Nemours said to me. 'He keeps us all alive.'

"The family at Claremont lead an exemplary life. Absolutely and entirely united, their first object in life is their children's education. Various French people, who have remained faithful to this dynasty, undertake attendance on the Queen in turn. Sometimes it is General Dumas or General Chabanas, sometimes the Countess de Mullien, or the Duchess de Marmier. There is no lack of visitors either. Queen Victoria, who is a cousin of the Duchess de Nemours, and has a great sympathy for the whole family, comes to see them from time to time. . . . The Duke de Montpensier, the Queen's second son, lives in Spain away from his family, having married a Spanish Infanta.

". . . . The Duke d'Aumale gives dinner parties and accepts invitations. His wife, a Princess of Naples, is not at all pretty, but very charming and amusing. She speaks several languages. . . . We dined at his house with the Duke and Duchess de Nemours, Princess Clementine of

Orleans,[1] who is married to the Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Cohary, and other personages, among whom were the Count and Countess Lavradio, the Duke d'Ossuna, and the Marquis d'Azeglio, the Sardinian Minister. The latter, whom I have not before mentioned, is an amiable Italian, most good-natured and rather vain. He adores England, and has adopted all her customs. He wears the most irreproachable neckties, and the rest of his dress is equally irreproachable, his black pearl shirt studs being especially admired. He is a patron of all sorts of *objets d'art* and of antiquities. His affability and good humour make him very popular in London society. He loves to give advice, and is enchanted when it is followed, but he somewhat over-estimates the importance of his position He is the nephew of Massimo d'Azeglio, and in London they call him Minimo d'Azeglio, which indicates the amount of talent he is credited with."

Thus in firm strong colours the Countess draws the portraits of the people belonging to the circle in which she and her husband moved. Other political portraits shall follow. But we must now return to the time of great political events in which Bernstorff, as Prussia's representative, played a distinguished part.

[1] Princess Marie Clementine Caroline Leopoldine Clotilde, sixth daughter of Louis Philippe and Marie Amélie, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Naples, was born in the Palais Royal in 1817. She was a great-niece of Marie Antoinette. She had much strength of character, and had an influential position among the Royal personages of Europe. She married Augustus Louis Victor, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a cousin of both Queen Victoria and Prince Consort. Her youngest son, Prince Ferdinand, was elected Prince of Bulgaria in 1887. She died in 1906.—Tr.

CHAPTER VIII

BERNSTORFF'S OFFICIAL EXPERIENCES DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE PALMERSTON MINISTRY, 1854–1855.

Buol's defection to the side of the Western Powers—Threats against Prussia on the part of the English Ministry—The addendum to the April Convention—Condition of affairs at the seat of war—Treaty of December 2nd between Austria and the Western Powers—Walewski—The parliamentary crisis—The Palmerston Cabinet.

BEFORE entering upon his new duties in England, Bernstorff had endeavoured to acquire exact information as to the views of the Government in Berlin: not by any means an easy task under the conditions then prevailing. He was gratified to learn that his appointment had met with but slight opposition, and he writes to his wife on the subject from Berlin on June 6th, 1854, as follows[1]:—

"I am delighted to find that they are on the whole satisfied with my being sent to London. The King himself

[1] It may be appropriate to quote some remarks written by Countess Bernstorff in allusion to her correspondence with her husband, which were found among the Count's papers after his death. She gives the reason why they wrote so few letters to one another: "Fortunately there were only a few letters from my husband to me. We never were voluntarily separated, only when duty imperatively demanded it. At the beginning of our happy married life we made up our minds on this point, and by God's mercy we were allowed to be together with but few exceptions. It is a matter of deep gratitude to me that I was able to follow my husband everywhere. Every parting was an unspeak-

took the initiative in the matter, and Manteuffel and the rest agreed to it at once. The Prince of Prussia is also much pleased, although he had taken Bunsen's recall very ill."[1]

On his way to London, Bernstorff stopped in Paris for a few days, in order to get in touch with French political feeling. Drouyn de L'huys,[2] with whom he had a long conversation, told him that the Western Powers wished to urge Prussia to take joint action with them, and demanded a decisive answer from her; they also wanted to get Austria on to their side.[3] He said that the Danube Principalities must be made for ever independent of Russia, that the rights of the Christians in Turkey must be established, and the integrity of the Turkish Empire maintained, a compensation being given her for relinquishing Moldavia and Wallachia. If Prussia and Austria would comply with this proposal, they would receive two votes at the Conference, and no measures would be passed without their consent.

On arriving in London Bernstorff was met with similar desires by the English Ministers and the English Press, the latter demanding, if necessary, the compulsory accession

able distress to us both. How deeply he felt my absence from him I cannot describe. He had a warm, loving heart, and felt things deeply, and it was touching how he missed me and longed for me with all the strength of his manly nature. During the first years of our happy married life the doctors *insisted* several times on my visiting different water-places to which he could not accompany me. In 1854 and 1859 I stayed at Homburg on account of the children. The latter occasion was the last on earth when we parted for several weeks."

[1] In the same letter Bernstorff says he has seen Werther in Berlin: "He is just the same, only older, and he does not impress me as a great statesman."

[2] Edouard Drouyn de L'huys, b. 1905, d. 1881, French statesman. Several times Minister for Foreign Affairs under Napoleon III. He was a friend of Austria and the Pope, and sought to further the French Rheinbund policy.

[3] Despatch from Bernstorff to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. London, July 18th, 1854.

of Prussia to the alliance. Clarendon, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, told Bernstorff at once that it was in Prussia's interests to assist in bringing the war to an end, and that this could simply be done by her co-operation with France and England. This was the only way, he affirmed, in which the preposterous domination so long exercised by Russia over Germany could be broken up.[1] But Bernstorff justly replied that this undue preponderance was not owing to Prussia, but was the fault of the other powers, England not excepted, as she had in 1849 and 1850 played Russia's game, much to the disadvantage of Germany and the German cause. He emphatically asserted that Prussia was only interested in a secondary degree in the present complications, and that Germany as a whole was only concerned in the matter in so far as regarded the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Danube Principalities. In course of further conversation Bernstorff defended Prussia's attitude in the question. Clarendon, however, stuck to his view, in which he was backed up by Lord Aberdeen,[2] and Bernstorff perceived that Prussian diplomacy was mistrusted in London, and that Prussia would throughout the war be exposed to pressure from the Western Powers. This rendered him the more uneasy, as he learned that Austria, notwithstanding her treaty with Prussia, was secretly negotiating with England for the evacuation of the Danube Principalities, eventually with the co-operation of Austrian troops.

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. London, June 20th, 1854.

[2] George Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen, took the name of Hamilton in 1818; in 1814 he was raised to the peerage of Great Britain as Viscount Gordon; b. 1784, d. 1860. He had a fine political record as a member of the Tory party. After Lord Derby's resignation in 1852 he became leader of the Coalition Ministry, and after Sir Robert Peel's resignation he led the so-called Peelites in the Upper House. After his fortieth year he inclined more towards the views of the Liberal party.

The Prince of Prussia writes as follows to Bernstorff upon the situation :—

"OSTENDE, 1/8/1854.

"I am taking this opportunity of writing to thank you for your letter received this morning. I am very glad you were well received; that is, so far as the *personal* reception was concerned; the official reception could not have been so good. I am not in the least surprised by all you tell me. The dishonest and uncertain course we have adopted, which is the reason why I must give up taking any further part in affairs, cannot but lead us to the end you describe, as I have predicted all along, ever since the March Revolution, by memoranda, letters, and by word of mouth. The only possible way of bringing the crisis to an honourable issue would be to declare that, since all attempts at preserving peace have failed, we now mean 'franchement' to fulfil our 'engagements.' In this way we should avoid being forced to adopt this course, and should also avoid 'isolement,' which would be the most disastrous thing of all! Yes, the way Prussia's voice has been disregarded and ignored at the conclusion of this drama in which we have had *no share at all*, is a matter which, as you say, is not in the least recognized by certain circles in Berlin. If we solve the difficulty in the manner I propose, we shall have peace before the winter, for Russia *cannot* beat the whole of Europe, so she would have to give in. A closer alliance between Austria and the Western Powers must be brought about; it could be done at the price of offering her the German Imperial crown, and agreeing that Prussia should resume the Electorship of Brandenburg. That is what the Camarilla brings us to! and it thinks, forsooth, that it deserves the thanks of Russia into the bargain!

"Whether Sebastopol will be taken or not remains to be seen; I do not believe it will, unless the Russians continue

to operate in the ignoble way they have been doing hitherto, and go on making a useless sacrifice of their lion-hearted troops. It is pitiable, and it grieves me to the heart, for though I publicly censure the Tsar and his policy, still I have, all the same, a warm feeling for him and his country. Pray show this to Count Henckel[1] and beg him to accept it as my thanks for, and answer to, his interesting letter.

"Your,

"PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

The Russians having evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia, Austria was suddenly relieved from her chief embarrassment, but none the less Count Buol,[2] the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, found it necessary to adhere as closely as possible to the side of the Maritime Powers, his probable motive being to isolate Prussia thereby. Without consulting the Court at Berlin, he, together with England and France, sent a challenge to Russia, the terms of which were known as "The Four Points."[3] The third and fourth of these did not in any way affect Prussia and Germany, but Friedrich Wilhelm IV., desirous, as far as might be, to avoid occasion of difference with Austria, magnanimously suggested to the Tsar that the "Points" should be made a basis for further negotiations. In case of Russia's refusal to agree to this, he did not, however, pledge himself to any hostile action against her, a fact which proved later on

[1] At the Prussian Legation in London.

[2] Karl Ferdinand, Count von Buol-Schauenstein, Austrian statesman. Born 1797, died 1855. He had been Minister for Foreign Affairs since 1852.

1. A European guarantee for the rights of the Danube, instead of the hitherto existing Russian protectorate.

2. Free navigation of the Danube to the sea.

3. Revision of the Treaty of 1841 in the interest of the balance of power in Europe.

4. That the rights of the Christians in Turkey should be maintained in a manner according with the Sultan's sovereignty.

important for Prussia's neutrality, considering Russia's subsequent curt rejection of "The Four Points."

Excitement in London at Prussia's attitude augmented daily. On August 11th the "Times" wrote that Prussia had ceased to be the "fifth Power in Europe," and was only the "first among second-grade powers." For a time, indeed, the English were restored to good humour by the speedy capture of the Bomarsund, the landing of the allied forces in the Crimea and their early successes. After the battles of the Alma and Inkermann, which occasioned a perfect storm of rejoicing in London, they thought the fall of Sebastopol would only be a matter of days. But when the news from the Crimea grew worse and worse, and a weary siege began, accompanied by severe hardships for the allied armies, then the popular discontent once more made itself felt, and Prussia, as was to be expected, was again made the scape-goat. Lord Clarendon kept irritably asking Bernstorff why Prussia did not at least make preparations for war, since Austria had done that much in the matter. The Tsar, so his Lordship averred, knew that he had no more to fear from Prussia than he had from Archangel. Bernstorff maintained a firm front, and calmly met these violent protests with the assertion that Prussia was not going to raise a large army for purposes of demonstration merely, as this would be contrary to the whole military system of the country; if, however, she should really wish to prepare for war, she could raise the requisite troops with the utmost facility, but she would only do so if she genuinely intended war.

In the following despatch to Manteuffel, Bernstorff gives vent to his anxiety lest Prussia should ultimately be seriously involved in the conflict.[1]

"Although France may well hesitate, for the present at any rate, to take upon her shoulders the responsibility of

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to Manteuffel. London, August 15th, 1854.

a war with Prussia, so long, that is, as a considerable portion of the troops at her disposal are engaged in the war with Russia, yet England, on the contrary, risks nothing by so doing, since Prussia cannot make war upon her. If his Majesty's government should find itself compelled to adopt measures adverse to the interests of English trade and property, England would always be able to indemnify herself, and she would utterly ruin the whole of our overseas commerce, annihilate our growing navy, and perhaps bombard and destroy the Prussian harbours and sea-ports."

The counsels which Bernstorff tendered to the Prussian Government in this matter will be given further on.

During the weeks which followed the occupation of Bomarsund, Clarendon employed every sort of device to force Prussia to join the alliance of the Western Powers, affirming that the only way of really breaking down Russia's opposition was to attempt the annihilation of her commerce. To effect this all Russian exports to the west must be prohibited. There were, besides, other means to be used. England and France had hitherto made great concessions to the neutrals. In the coming year they would have to be "more strict" on this point. "I did not wish," says Bernstorff, "to touch further upon this delicate and dangerous topic, as I had no desire to provoke any premature discussion which might disturb our relations with England; but I was well aware that the English Minister was alluding to Prussia, in the event of that country maintaining the neutral attitude which was so favourable to Russia."[1] Clarendon intimated further that

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. London, September 2nd, 1854. In it he refers to the profound impression created upon the English Ministry by the extensive plans for fortification which had been found at Bomarsund. According to these plans, so Clarendon said, the fortifications on

France was resolved to support England in dealing a severe blow to Russian power in the Baltic, even at the cost of injury to the neutrals. It was also hoped to gain Sweden's assistance, and in the event of the Western Powers proving really successful, the position of the neutral countries would be even more endangered than before. In September Clarendon repeated his question as to whether Prussia would conclude a treaty with France and England, and added: "Si vous ne coopérez pas avec nous, nous ferons aussi la paix sans vous."[1] Bernstorff rejoined that no one disputed the right of the Western Powers to make terms of peace, but that no peace would be of any effect except in so far as it did not interfere with Prussia's charted rights, as, for example, the Treaty of the Dardanelles of 1841. When Clarendon's only reply was to make a sceptical gesture, Bernstorff earnestly besought him not to trifle on such subjects.

It soon became evident that Austria intended to urge upon the Diet at Frankfort the acceptance of her proposals with regard to the Eastern question, the outcome of which would be the isolation of Prussia. Bernstorff addressed the following despatch to Manteuffel on October 14th, 1854:—

"He, Clarendon, does not want to bring about a

the island of Aland were to be increased to a scale four times the size of those at present existing. Supposing Russia were to carry out the plan, she would in two or three years be mistress of the Baltic and the Sound, and Sweden and Denmark would become her dependencies. Russia, he alleged, "desired to encircle Europe with an iron girdle reaching as far as the sound on one hand, and through Constantinople to Belgrade on the other." In Clarendon's opinion it was to the interests of Europe that Russia should be "forced betimes to unmask." He added that the Swedes were much astonished at the plans discovered at Bomarsund, from which Bernstorff immediately inferred that the Western Powers intended to make use of this as a means of drawing Sweden to their side.

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. London, September 9th, 1854.

rupture with Prussia, nor that she should be sensibly weakened for the future. *Nevertheless, I have not the slightest doubt that he and his colleagues would not flinch from this course were they to consider it necessary for the realization of the great object for which they are striving; namely, the breaking down of Russia's supremacy in the Baltic as well as in the Black Sea, and the attainment of honourable terms of peace.*

"France would naturally find less difficulty in making up her mind to such a step, since so exceptionally favourable an opportunity might not again occur of revenging herself upon Prussia, as would be provided by a war in which she would have the support of the English navy, and have Austria on her side, while Russia would be crippled and preoccupied with considerations of self-defence.

"Public opinion is expressing itself more and more strongly in England in favour of an *avowedly hostile attitude being taken up next year with regard to Prussia*, rather than allow the operations of the Western Powers against their common foe to be hampered and weakened any longer by Prussian neutrality. You know what public opinion is, and what an influence it exercises upon the policy of the Government.

"I have already had the honour of submitting to your Excellency numerous proofs of the feeling existing in this country against Prussia. I am forwarding to-day a leading article from the 'Times' upon the Austrian despatch of the 30th ultimo; it gives uncompromising expression to the aforesaid opinion and concludes with the prediction that when once a firm alliance has been made between England, France, and Austria, Russian protection will not avail to prevent the Kingdom of Prussia from sinking to quite another level in Germany from that which she has occupied since the Peace of 1815. No opportunity is lost

by the English Press of pointing out, as is done in this article, that Austria, by taking advantage of the present situation, will be able to recover that position and influence in Germany and on the continent which she has lost by the events of the past century.

"On the other hand, there is an opinion here, especially in the diplomatic circle, that should the expedition to the Crimea be successful and the Eastern question enter upon a new phase in consequence, Prussia will have an opportunity of retrieving all she has lost, of playing an important part in affairs, and contributing materially to the bringing about of peace. It is taken for granted that the Emperor of Russia will not make peace so long as Prussia maintains her present attitude, and that the Western Powers will have, therefore, to renew the war next year with redoubled energy, and concentrate their main efforts northwards in order to extort terms of peace. . . . Now if Prussia, after exhausting all pacific means of serving Russia and sparing her humiliation, were to demand her acceptance of definite terms, and were to declare positively that in case of non-acceptance of those terms, she, Prussia, would be compelled in her own interests, as well as in those of Germany and Europe, to join the three other powers for the purpose of exacting peace; if, again, she were to render it impossible for Russia to doubt the sincerity of her intentions, by pledging herself irrevocably with Austria to the German alliance, and the two sea powers to carry out this aim; and, further, if she were to take serious military measures for giving full effect to it (supposing diplomatic pourparlers prove inadequate), then there is a conviction here that Prussia would gain twice as much in the long run. On the one hand this horrible war would be brought to a close instead of bursting out with redoubled fury next year and spreading over the

greater part of Europe; whilst, on the other side, Prussia would acquire a decisive voice in the peace negotiations and the settlement of international relations, from which she is now precluded by her persistent neutrality. This would be the more to her advantage, as otherwise she might find herself entangled in a war with an overwhelming majority of the European powers. These are the alternatives which they set before Prussia!"

It is a matter of common knowledge that Bismarck cast ridicule upon the menaces of the Western powers, declaring that England would take good care to avoid a blockade of the Prussian ports, as it must ruin her trade with Germany; whilst as for France, he averred it was only necessary for Prussia to mobilize a couple of army corps to hold her in check. Manteuffel at first shared this view and replied to Bernstorff's warnings in the same strain. The events proved that he and Bismarck were right, but it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that the British Cabinet, though it certainly would not have decided lightly upon such a step, might have been compelled to take strong measures against Prussia owing to the violence of popular feeling. Manteuffel admitted afterwards that there were moments during the war when he had been very seriously apprehensive of extreme measures on the part of the Western Powers. General Leopold von Gerlach also, who was not a man to yield to threats, writes that there would eventually be nothing for the Western Powers but an international blockade.[1]

The English Court viewed with uneasiness the national irritation against Prussia. The Queen, however, avoided interfering in these matters, considering it incompatible with the principles of the British Constitution. Later on, it is true, she privately did everything in her power to

[1] Gerlach II., p. 254.

counteract the anti-Prussian fanaticism in England, as will be seen at the time of the negotiations on the Schleswig-Holstein affair during the sixties. As a matter of fact, in questions of international policy, the Queen generally knew how to deal with the English people, though she was less successful in some instances in smaller affairs.

Notwithstanding the high respect she had for the will of the nation—a respect which she carried so far that on one occasion she vindicated the right of Parliament to elect another sovereign if they were not satisfied with her—she did not at this time pay sufficient attention to certain popular feelings. Thus, at the time when England was thrilled with warlike excitement, and a profound gloom pervaded the country on account of the appalling losses in the Crimea, the Queen chose to go off to Scotland for her pleasure and recreation. The following passage from Countess Bernstorff's reminiscences may be given here as referring to some of those mistakes on the Queen's part.

"The journey to Scotland very much astonished us; and our surprise was increased by reading in the papers that the Queen had given a hunt ball to her tenants there, and this at the moment when Lord Burghersh had just returned from the seat of war, bearing with him England's blood-stained laurels newly won at the cost of the bitter sorrow of so many English families. The 'Times' published a very violent article against the Sovereign, her prolonged absence from London, and the aforesaid ball. At last the Queen came back, bringing Lord Burghersh with her. On her return journey she stopped at Hull to inspect the docks, and this was made an occasion for further festivities, which public opinion justly thought inopportune. At the same time, during the royal tour of the town the mayor of Hull was knighted by the Queen, who used Lord Burghersh's sword—the sword of a true knight, and

still red, so to speak, with the blood of Crimean battles—to administer the accolade required to raise the manufacturer to the dignity of knighthood."

Unlike the Queen, Prince Albert did not abstain from politics, but took a keen interest in them, of course behind the scenes. He asked Bernstorff to come and see him, in order to discuss a means of allaying the popular animosity against Prussia.[1] It was well known that the Prince, by means of these private interviews and his extensive correspondence with the members of royal houses nearly related to him, and the parliamentary leaders in the chief countries in Europe, exerted a wide-spread influence, which, though of course an unconstitutional one, was, on the whole, of benefit to England. His motive in the present instance was a desire to accomplish what the English Ministers had hitherto found impossible, namely, to draw Prussia at the last moment into the camp of the Western Powers.

The English nation, said the Prince, was making such passionate demands for combined action to be taken with France against Prussia that the Cabinet found all reasonable arguments of no avail. He laid stress on the unanimity of the Western Powers. "We are," so he said, "raising France to the level of a first-class sea-power, we are instructing her in navigation and naval warfare, we are giving her the plans of our ships, we are exchanging artillery with her—in short, we are making all our preparations in common."

To Bernstorff's suggestion that England should not, in her own interests, allow France to become too powerful, the Prince would by no means agree, saying that the English were so delighted at the alliance with France, *that they would rather see her help herself to part of Prussia*,

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. London, October 24th, 1854.

than have that alliance fall through. . . . He then enlarged upon the situation. The war against Russia, he alleged, could not be carried on with entire success so long as Prussia favoured Russian interests by remaining neutral, so long as she opened her frontiers and her ports to Russian commerce, and so long as she continued to hamper the movements of the allies and to put obstruction in the way of any vigorous action on Austria's part against the policy of the Tsar. The Tsar, too, would not yield until he saw that his last hope of successful resistance had been destroyed by Prussia joining the alliance of the Western Powers. And here the Prince gave a warning note. Since Prussia presented the only real obstacle to the restoration of peace, her persistence in her present attitude would leave to the Western Powers no course open: "que de faire les efforts nécessaires pour surmonter cet obstacle!"

Prince Albert finally recurred to the question of Poland, well aware that he was putting his finger on "one of the sensitive spots in Prussian politics." He alluded to the appeal on behalf of the Poles which Persigny[1] had just then addressed to Napoleon III., and which had met with much approval in England. Several English politicians had already expressed their agreement with the views set forth in this document. Louis Napoleon was also showing much interest in the subject, and hoped, with Poland's aid, to accomplish great things in Europe. Austria and Prussia, the Prince declared, must combine with the Western Powers to prevent such a contingency, unless they wished to have their territories devasted by a Polish upheaval. Louis Napoleon

[1] Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, Duc de Persigny; born 1808, died 1872. A French statesman, and faithful adherent and companion of Napoleon III., at the time of the exile. Helped towards the election of the latter as President, and was a powerful instrument in effecting the coup d'état. In 1851 he succeeded Morny as Minister of the Interior, which post he resigned in 1854. Was French Ambassador to England from 1855–1858.

would soon discover that veteran armies, like those of the two German powers, were worth more than a mere rabble of Polish insurgents. But were he to see that England and France could expect no support from either Vienna or Berlin, then the Polish question would perforce come again to the front.

The same evening Bernstorff met Clarendon, who emphatically repeated the threats which the Prince had only politely hinted at. "The allies," he exclaimed with the greatest irritation, "are making vigorous preparations for an attack on the Baltic, and then, woe to those who are not with us. In a year the whole face of Europe will be changed!" Upon Bernstorff's calmly replying that the only desire of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. was to preserve peace for Prussia and Germany, Clarendon broke out with uncontrollable vehemence: "Of course, but the King will not preserve it much longer; there will be war in a *very* short time, a *very* short time!"

Though it is undeniable that the English Government hoped by such threats to intimidate Prussia, yet things had indeed come to a very critical point, the excitement of the English public against Prussia having become well nigh ungovernable, and at any moment an unguarded expression might cause the pot to boil over. Even Manteuffel, who had hitherto treated the war scare with scepticism, now realized the serious danger[1]:—"Your Excellency's last despatches have not been at all reassuring," he writes to Bernstorff, "and however much I may tell myself that, in her own interests, it is England's policy to intimidate us, still *I do not in the least misapprehend the exceeding gravity of the situation.* If England wants to make war upon us and hastens to declare it, or to

[1] Manteuffel to Bernstorff. Berlin, October 29th, 1854. In the Bernstorff papers.

take some action which is tantamount to declaring it, then there is nothing for us to do but to take up arms, hopeless and uneven though the contest will be. We shall be at a very great disadvantage, but still we might find opportunities of injuring our adversaries by carefully adhering to the principle which has been so much proclaimed by England, namely, that of doing as much damage as possible to the enemy. As a matter of fact the English *seem to underrate our internal resources.* The year 1848 has passed away, but its lessons remain with us. Our weakest point is the Catholic element, upon which England will not probably be able to count, even if she wished to do so. But if England does not act on the spur of the moment, if she allows us time, and employs proper means—not threats and rhodomontades *à la* Loftus—I see a strong possibility at no very distant date of our coming into closer relations with her than one might think.[1] My official despatch of to-day will show your Excellency the terms in which we are addressing Russia.[2] Further and more vigorous measures may be taken in the near future, his Majesty not being at all averse to such a course."

Manteuffel pursues the subject in his next despatch:—"I am greatly obliged to your Excellency for the comprehensive and important information with which you have supplied me. His Majesty sees in the frank and open statement you have made with regard to English opinion, as shown by the views of the general public and members of the government, a proof of your Excellency's constant and sedulous attention to your duties. His Majesty also most fully approves *the calm and sober language in which you have responded to the often passionate and totally one-*

[1] The reference is to the threatening language which had been employed by Lord Augustus Loftus, the English Minister in Berlin.

[2] Prussia was exhorting Russia to yield the four points.

sided arguments of Lord Clarendon. We do not renounce the hope that this paroxysm of irritation and animosity against Prussia will subside. It will do so as the English become convinced that Prussia, though by no means always sharing the views of the Western Powers, and therefore not disposed to acquiesce in the demands arising therefrom, in those cases where she does not esteem such demands consonant with her own interests, is yet far from denying that fundamentally she is in agreement with the Western Powers. Of this she gave evidence in the earlier stages of the Eastern question. It is not Prussia's desire to assume a hostile position towards the Western Powers, nor to enter into closer relations with Russia."[1] In another private letter to Bernstorff on November 6th, after complaining of Lord Augustus Loftus's arrogant tone on the subject of the imposition of a Russian loan on the Berlin Bourse, Manteuffel again states that the King is less Russian in his sympathies than ever, and that an eventful rapprochement between Prussia and England may be regarded as certain. But he was already showing a tendency to take the warlike threats of the English Ministry much less seriously; in fact he had begun to alter his opinion only a few days after admitting to Bernstorff the gravity of the situation. He now adduced numerous arguments to show that there was little or no fear of a blockade.[2] Several of these arguments were

[1] Manteuffel to Bernstorff. Berlin, November 2nd, 1854.

[2] "A blockade," writes Manteuffel, "would not be at all to the interests of the maritime powers. It would, of course, be possible to carry out a blockade in the Baltic, but this would mean the closing to the belligerents of the sole source of supplies open to them. I need not tell your Excellency that there would be another and very effectual means of attaining this end, and one which would be without many of the drawbacks of a blockade. It would only be necessary to *prohibit English merchants from trading in Russian products.* The so-called indirect trade with Russia, which is carried on overland across our frontiers, is not in itself nearly so considerable as it is said to be in England, and is promoted for the most part by English firms to *meet* English requirements." Manteuffel cites in this connection Giles Loder, of London, and

certainly cogent. There would, of course, always be the possibility of a severe blow being dealt in many places to Prussian trade; but this would injure both parties, and the only question would be, which of them would be able to endure the restrictions longest?

Bernstorff, however, was bound, as Prussia's representative, to raise his voice in warning, and it was unjust on the part of some of the chief Conservatives in Berlin to tax him with having allowed himself to be "intimidated" by England. The King stood up for him, and would not hear a word of the suspicions uttered against him.

One might have supposed that the Prince of Prussia would have been pleased at the sudden disposition evinced by the Prussian Government to a rapprochement with England. The following allusion, however, made by him to some of Bernstorff's despatches, distinctly shows that he considered it, in view of antecedent circumstances, merely another proof of the unreliability and uncertainty of the Prussian policy.

The Prince of Prussia to Bernstorff.

"COBLENZ, *November 11th*, 1854.

"I am returning the despatches, and am greatly obliged for a sight of them, as they were of a twofold interest to me. First, because the latest one shows me what is the actual state of affairs in England, and secondly because from the whole collection I can evolve some idea of your course of action since your arrival in London, and of your attitude in the present crisis—an attitude of which I am delighted to hear the King has recently shown his appreciation.

Thomson, Bonar, and Co., who were doing business with Russian houses, and importing their wares to the extent of over a million sterling. *See* Poschinger's "Prusssia's Foreign Policy," vol. ii., p. 551.

From what you say, I am convinced that you are, alas, in a very difficult position. For surely there can be nothing more difficult than to have to defend a policy which offers so few points capable of being defended against those logical attacks to which 'inconsequences' are always liable. I see, however, from your whole course of action in the matter that you have done everything to bring about a happy solution of the task committed to you, both by your verbal utterances, which have been conscientiously in accordance with your instructions, and by your equally conscientious statements in writing. I can understand what desperate opposition your arguments have had to encounter, and how serious will be the danger for Prussia if she persists in her present course. Your reasons given in the despatches of August 15th, and of October 14th, 24th, and 25th, are so concise and convincing that I only hope they may have made a *deeper* impression in influential quarters! That they have not entirely failed to make some impression, you will have heard. But the ways and means that are being employed to bring about the intended rapprochement with England are so far-fetched, so full of sophistry, that I still doubt their being understood in London. The attempt is now being made to obtain by circumlocution what could have been gained in a straightforward way after April 20th; and this is done in apparent oblivion of the fact that for the last six months we have been losing considerably in credit and prestige, and that we shall at length be asked to say what we really mean by it all.

"I do not expect any reply from St. Petersburg other than the one received in August, which Prussia alone would agree to, so that all this squabbling will begin again and go on as it has been doing ever since then, and it soon will be impossible to maintain a policy of inaction, so that

I wish Vienna would be somewhat amenable, for she must realise that the latest move on Prussia's part with Germany in tow must necessarily entail another and still more decisive one, no matter how the Crimean expedition turns out.

"I, for my part, have, as you know, always viewed with anxiety the undertaking of this expedition so late in the year, and pending a factitious truce on the Pruth, and I fear a calamity to the allied armies. If Russia is successful, the intoxication of victory will make us forget the whole point at issue with regard to the Eastern question, and we shall lose sight of the end aimed at, namely, that Russia shall not emerge from the struggle as conqueror, i.e. she shall not retain any of her privileges. But I presume that Prussia will in that case perform the office of proxy for Russia, and then the *other* move will take place.

"Pray remember me to your wife, whose interesting letters to the Princess are always a great pleasure to us.

"I remain always your

"PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

Meanwhile the British public were waiting with feverish anxiety for better news from the seat of war. Despite the universal confidence of victory, many families were in deep distress owing to relations having fallen on the field. A large number of the slain were scions of the most distinguished houses in the country. Among the members of the aristocracy there was a feeling of irritation against the Prince Consort because he had, out of deference to the Queen's commands, not gone to the war. According to Countess Bernstorff, the Duchess of Cambridge, whose son was with the army before Sebastopol, gave free utterance to this feeling. Her son, she declared, had hastened to take up arms in spite of all dissuasions, and had said: "If they won't let me take part in the war, I will never wear

uniform again, but will appear at the Court in plain clothes. If I am only to be a soldier in time of peace, then I am merely playing at soldiering, which is not a worthy thing to do in my opinion!"

The tidings which came from the Crimea concerning the disgraceful mismanagement of the commissariat and hospital departments of the English army had the effect of somewhat cooling down the war-fever. The necessary supplies of food and clothing either did not arrive at all, or arrived at the wrong place, or much too late, so that the brave soldiers who had just been giving another proof of their heroism at Balaclava were destitute of the most ordinary necessaries of life, and were dying off like flies. There was a total lack even of medicaments and doctors for the wounded. The Russians defended Sebastopol with fearful pertinacity, and the siege dragged on and on. After the battle of Inkermann there was a pause. English and French alike were in urgent need of reinforcements, and the former even sent for some troops on duty in Canada and India. A sort of armistice was agreed upon and officially announced in the Paris "Moniteur" of November 28th by a despatch dated the 6th.

"Meanwhile," says the Countess, "the political negotiations for the conclusion of peace were resumed, and our King took the greatest trouble to induce Russia to accept the 'Four Points.' Our Government even addressed a despatch to St. Petersburg ending with the words: 'If Russia should still persist in her refusal to come to terms, the King will be under the very painful necessity of adopting that attitude which the interests of Prussia will then prescribe.' This almost amounted to a menace. So far as the Western Powers were concerned, England appeared much less inclined to peace than France. The indignation felt in London at Austria's non-committal attitude served,

fortunately, to divert in some measure the political animosity from Prussia. Austria, so the papers said, wanted to stand well with all sides, and to reap all the advantages of the war without risking a single man. The English journals vociferously demanded that the Government in Vienna should come to a decision, and denounced Austria in violent terms as being partly responsible for the serious losses of the Allies.

"At last, on November 26th, an understanding was apparently arrived at between the two German Powers, Prussia signing an additional article to the Treaty of April 20th, by which she pledged herself to support Austria in the event of her being attacked by Russia in the Danube principalities. On November 28th the news was received in London that Russia had accepted the 'Four Points' as a basis of negotiation, and on December 2nd, to the intense excitement of the English public, there arrived the further intelligence that Austria had concluded a treaty with the Western Powers. She had kept Russia in ignorance of her intention until the Treaty was actually on the eve of being signed; and it was perfectly well known in England that Count Buol had only a short time previously assured Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Envoy in Vienna, that Austria had no thoughts whatever of joining the Anglo-French alliance. Prince Gortschakoff thought his fate was sealed as far as his own Government was concerned, but apparently the Tsar was convinced of the perfidy of Austria, for he did not recall his Ambassador after the signing of this Treaty. The first news that it had been definitely concluded was received in Berlin by a despatch sent off from my husband on the evening of December 2nd, a proof of the quickness of communication, for the treaty was signed at Vienna at noon and on the same evening the news reached Berlin, via London. . . ."

On December 16th the representatives of the Three Powers transmitted to the Prussian Government the official intelligence of the alliance, with the request that Prussia would join in it. Manteuffel at first advised compliance, but afterwards, at the instance of the King, he refused to join, and the Russian Cabinet was at once notified from Berlin that Prussia's attitude had in no way altered, in spite of Austria's change of policy. In the letter in which Manteuffel communicated these incidents to Bernstorff, distinct traces are discernible of the influence of Usedom,[1] who was trying to persuade the Prussian Government to conclude an "analogous treaty" with England and France.

"My view of the matter is this," writes Manteuffel:[2] "that for us to agree to the alliance, as it stands, is impossible. If we were to sign a stipulation that we would conclude an offensive alliance against Russia whenever Austria should go to war with her—i.e. whenever it might please Austria to undertake an expedition, let us say, to Moscow—we should be declaring ourselves a mere 'appendix' to Austria. The passage should run thus: 'If Prussia should be involved in a war with Russia,' etc. *We would also declare ourselves ready to negotiate for a treaty similar to the Austrian one.* But to do this with *connaissance de cause* we must know how the 'Four Points' are interpreted, and our first question must be directed to this. If they take umbrage at our question and our delay, we will not get provoked. Altogether we shall, I think, do well not to go over to the opposite camp; still, we had better not be too precipitate in agreeing to the treaty, nor be scared by possible exclusion from the Vienna negotiations, but say to ourselves, *le jour viendra!* Prussia will always be of value, and

[1] Karl Georg Ludwig, Count von Usedom; born 1805, died 1884. Prussian diplomatist and political writer.

[2] Bernstorff's despatch to the King. London, December 18th, 1854.

perhaps in a few months' time we may be received with more empressement than now. So *pas de trop de zèle*, but let us act openly and maintain an even-tempered and friendly attitude!"

The alliance was viewed with the utmost dissatisfaction in Berlin, and Bernstorff considered Prussia's position as mere endangered than ever. "A united Germany," he says in a despatch of December 3rd, "could have carried out armed mediation; she could, indeed, have enforced it by her military power. As it is, however, Prussia is isolated, whilst her rival, Austria, is establishing herself in the good graces of the Western Powers."[1] It was only Bernstorff's trust in God which alleviated in any degree his depression at the situation, and the following words in a letter from Radowitz were an echo of his own feelings: "If we had not, ever since 1848, been gradually growing familiar with the thought of standing on a volcano, and had we not so often experienced God's providential over-ruling of its eruptions, we might regard the near future as black indeed."[2]

The political situation of the next few weeks was influenced to a considerable extent by the machinations of Lord Palmerston, who used his relations with Napoleon III. chiefly as a means of raising himself to the head of affairs in England.

"Just then," continues the Countess, "Lord Palmerston went to Paris at the Emperor's invitation to discuss the formation of a new English Cabinet with him. Palmerston, in the course of a long political career, had belonged to various Ministries, but had never formed a Cabinet, and he naturally desired to have the satisfaction of doing so. He was on the best of terms with the French Ambassador, and Louis

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. London, December 3rd, 1854.

[2] Radowitz to Bernstorff. Berlin, December 5th, 1854. Private letter.

Napoleon's attention had been drawn to him for some time. He was the very man now whom the Emperor wanted, and seemed the politician the most capable of dealing with existing circumstances. Everything depended on Louis Napoleon's opinion, for there is no doubt that he was at the moment directing the foreign policy of England, and made the English commonwealth serve his own purposes. Palmerston's friends viewed with some apprehension the Queen's undeniable aversion for him. Oddly enough he did not understand the art of flattery in his dealings with her, though he could often display it where the public and the Press were concerned. He frequently left her in ignorance about matters it behoved her to know, and he constantly did things which annoyed her and which he could easily have avoided. The Queen did not like Lady Palmerston either."

But for this feeling on the part of the Sovereign, Palmerston would have long before assumed the reins of Government. However, the force of public opinion, which imperatively required a "strong man" at the helm to free England from all the difficulties of the situation, now over-rode every obstacle, and the demand that Palmerston should take office became more importunate daily in face of the miserable conditions prevailing in the Crimea. Every one in England blamed the Ministry and made it the universal scape-goat. Even Lord John Russell[1] himself openly admitted in Parliament the abuses existing at the seat of war, and a motion was made for an inquiry into the condition of the army by means of the Roebuck Commission. As the Countess observes, "he wished to slink out by a back way in order to come in again by the front door on the other side. Mr. Roebuck's motion was carried,

[1] Lord John Russell, a distinguished Whig statesman; born 1792, died 1878. Became Earl Russell in 1861.—Tr.

and on January 30th the Cabinet resigned. After an unsuccessful attempt by Lord Derby to form a new Ministry, it being out of the question for Lord John Russell to take office, the Queen sent for Lord Palmerston, and he was able to form a new Cabinet. He had reached the goal towards which he had long been steering his course by the employment of every conceivable means, and Prussia found in him a dangerous antagonist at a critical moment; one who combined the slyness of a fox with the proverbial doggedness of the Anglo-Saxon.

But whatever the changes in England's home affairs, her suspicion of Prussia remained the same. When Friedrich Wilhelm IV., in his speech from the throne, stated that Prussia was on the point of putting her army on a war footing, Clarendon told Bernstorff he thought it remarkable in that case that the Prussian army should be so scattered, i.e. that it should be dispersed over the whole of the kingdom. By this he meant to say that as the troops were not to be concentrated on the Prusso-Russian frontiers, there might be a doubt against whom the mobilization was directed. Bernstorff answered imperturbably that an immediate concentration of the troops was not at all necessary, as it could be effected far more rapidly than in Russia, where they had to march through an endless expanse of steppes; in Prussia, on the contrary, "they could go by the 'iron roads,' always the way preferred in Prussia."[1] This winter was a depressing one for the Bernstorffs, owing to the strained political situation, the public animus against Prussia, and the Usedom Mission, to which we shall have occasion to refer later. The Countess also suffered from the climate. There were scarcely any social gatherings beyond those of the *corps diplomatique*. A description given of one of those evening parties is of interest

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King. London, December 2nd, 1854.

as mentioning Count Walewski, the French Ambassador, an important figure in London then :—[1]

"Count Walewski is a little man, rather corpulent, and very much like the Emperor Napoleon I., whose natural son he is. He has the same grey eyes, with a penetrating glance, and the same rather flabby, sallow face, without having inherited his father's mental characteristics.[2] His position in London is a very important one, but this is due rather to the Sovereign he represents than to his own talents. Really and truly he only plays the part of a marionette worked by a clever juggler, and is peculiarly adaptable for the purpose. He has imagination, a knowledge of politics, and a taste for literature—especially of the polite order—having even composed a piece which failed at the Théâtre français. In London he devotes all his thoughts and energies to politics. He shows off to the lesser diplomats who fawn upon him, and weigh every word that falls from his lips. If anything he says savours of a threat, they are

[1] Alexander Florian Joseph Colonna, Count Walewski, son of the Polish Countess Walewska and Napoleon I. Born 1810, died 1868. A well-known French statesman.

[2] Later, when dining at Lady Alice Peel's to meet the Duc and Duchesse d'Aumale, Countess Bernstorff heard the following details about Walewski :—"The Duc d'Aumale," she writes, "also spoke to me of Count Walewski, and told me that at the time the King (the Duc's father) was reigning in France everything was done for this man that could be done. After several unsuccessful attempts in other directions, Walewski entered the diplomatic service, and became Minister at La Plata, a position of considerable importance for a man who had begun his career with such slender means. He had not a sou in 1848, and even now has no means beyond his salary, but he had always been a sort of Don Magnifico. The Duc further told me that he himself had only seen Walewski once in recent years at a distance at the theatre, and that the latter had bowed to him politely. But the Duc de Monpensier had almost knocked against him once going through a doorway at a ball, and had said: 'Good morning, M. Walewski, I am delighted to see you.' Whereupon the Ambassador had bowed with embarrassment and replied: 'Monseigneur, vous avez trop de bonte.' Walewski could hardly have thought of the meaning of the word 'Monseigneur.' 'I thought the word 'charmant,' said the Duc d'Aumale."

excited; if he speaks kindly they can scarce contain themselves for joy. The diplomats of the second-grade powers swarm round him like moths round a candle, or rather like little birds that gather round a screech-owl, attracted by its penetrating glances.

"Take him all in all, Count Walewski is a *poseur*. He enjoys to the full all the amenities of his position, but he does so with a charming bonhommie. He looks, notwithstanding his great politeness, like a man who always sees a throne in the distance upon which he is some day destined to sit. He copies the gestures of Napoleon I., and he has a sort of 'grand air' about him. His imagination always leads him to say more than is warranted by his instructions: consequently, without precisely intending to tell lies, he does not stick to the exact truth. But he has a great deal of heart and a certain amount of good nature; for instance, he would not wilfully do a bad or unpleasant turn to anyone, no matter whom. His wife has Italian and Polish blood in her veins, and shares the qualities and faults of both these peoples. Her mother was a Poniatowska and her father the Marchese Rizzi. She is coquettish and vain to a degree, and might give her husband much cause for anxiety if they were not such a happily married couple, and if he had not looked after her so carefully in the first years of their wedded life. She has pleasant manners, and can pose very prettily. She is popular in London, but in spite of her beautiful toilettes, the regal allowance made by her husband, and the fine show that both he and she make, neither of them has true dignity nor aristocratic distinction. I feel that their position is altogether a theatrical and ephemeral one that may soon come to an end, and that they will fall into oblivion as soon as the man to whom they owe their status disappears from the throne. The above-

mentioned diplomatic soirées were our sole opportunity of social intercourse, except dining twice with the Duchess of Inverness. Count Vitzthum, the Marquis d'Azeglio, and Signor de Martino of the Neapolitan Legation, a charming and cultivated man, were the only people who occasionally came to us.

"On the whole the winter was very tedious, but in spite of many disagreeables we should have been far better able to put up with the life we led if political affairs had not been so trying. Our one consolation was that my husband, in spite of everything, established a position for himself in the political and intellectual world of London."

CHAPTER IX

FROM COUNT USEDOM'S MISSION TO THE VISIT OF NAPOLEON III. TO LONDON, 1854–1855

Usedom in England and his relations with Bernstorff and the English Ministers—Letter from the King of Prussia to Queen Victoria—English views as to the right of Prussia to take part in the Vienna Conference—Austria claims the support of Prussia (by requiring a mobilization of Prussian troops)—Interview between Bernstorff and the Prince Consort—The Vienna Conference—Friedrich Wilhelm IV. and Bernstorff's criticisms on the Usedom Mission—Usedom and Wedell in Paris—Death of the Tsar—Fresh armaments—The English Secretary for War—Critical position of the English Cabinet—The Peelites—John Bright—Visit of Napoleon III. to London.

THE Usedom Mission, to which brief allusion has been made in the preceding chapter, was, as far as Bernstorff was concerned, an exceedingly painful episode. It is hard to conceive of anything more mortifying to a diplomatic agent than to have another diplomat sent over from the country he represents to negotiate on important matters of foreign policy.

In November, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. had ordered Usedom to draw up a memorandum on the situation, and had then called him to Berlin. Manteuffel, it will be remembered, advocated Prussia's accession to the December treaty, but Usedom declared that such a course would place her in a completely dependent position towards Austria, and that it therefore became imperative for her to conclude an *analogous treaty* with England and France. The King desired Count Usedom to go to London to carry

this into effect. But only half measures were taken. Usedom was not invested with any proper official authority, but was merely the bearer of a letter to Queen Victoria, which at the outset failed of its object, since the foreign policy of Great Britain was in no way in the hands of Queen Victoria. Usedom, being a man of intelligence and talent, ought to have known this, and to have made it a reason for refusing to undertake the Mission. Instead of this, he set off for London with the calm assurance that he would be able to get the entire control of the negotiations into his own hands. Should the proposal for an *analogous treaty* come to naught, Usedom advised the King to station a Prussian army on the eastern frontier, in return for which the Western Powers should guarantee that no rising should take place in Russian Poland, and that no troops should be marched through Prussian territory. Friedrich Wilhelm's letter to the Queen of England was intended to smooth the way for Count Usedom's action. It ran as follows :—

"CHARLOTTENBURG, *December 14th*, 1854.

"Most Gracious Queen,

"I venture to recall myself to your Majesty's gracious remembrance, and to introduce to your notice a man who is in my entire political confidence. He is Herr von Usedom, a member of my Privy Council, and for many years my Minister in Rome. His wife was a subject of your Majesty, being one of the Malcolm family. I would respectfully urge your Majesty and the dear Prince, to whom I send my warmest regards, graciously to grant an audience to Herr von Usedom, and I trust that the overtures he is authorized to make will meet with that consideration at your hands and be productive of those results which matters of such grave importance deserve. I entreat your Majesty to give full credence to all the

proposals Herr von Usedom will make to you in my name. He is the bearer of most weighty matters, which I am confidently submitting to your Majesty's consideration. England, as a world-power and a Protestant country, must not—permit the freedom of the expression—leave Prussia to the fate designed for her. Usedom's mission is a purely private affair between your Majesty and myself. Your Majesty alone will decide whether he is to confer with your Ministers. If we have to come to actual negotiations, they will be entered upon in the usual official manner by myself. The 'arrière pensée' of separating England and France is quite foreign both to myself and to my Government.

"I will close my letter here, as otherwise I might have a difficulty in ending it at all. I remain, with 'courtoisie,'

"FRIEDRICH WILHELM."

Owing to this letter, Usedom's début in London was not of the best, for the English Ministers at once became suspicious that he was going to negotiate direct with the Queen behind their backs. A despatch from Bernstorff gives an account of the first interviews between Usedom and the English statesmen.

Bernstorff to Manteuffel.

"LONDON, *December 23rd*, 1854.

"I went with Herr von Usedom to Lord Clarendon at the appointed time to-day. After conversing on indifferent topics for a quarter of an hour, the latter informed us he had written to the Queen and was awaiting her commands. Usedom then left me alone with the Minister, to whom I had further communications to make, and who immediately asked me, with considerable irritation, if I could tell him the object of Herr von Usedom's Mission. He said he ex-

pected him to speak of it and show him a copy of the King's letter which he had brought. He did not, of course, know what character Herr von Usedom might have as an Ambassador, but personally, he had never before met with one who talked for a quarter of an hour about the weather, etc., without once referring to the object of his Mission. He was said to have a message to the Queen, but this could only be communicated to her through constitutional and responsible Ministers, and he himself did not yet know what was in the letter. He said he should write at once to the Queen and tell her what had occurred, and her Majesty would know what was the proper thing to do.

"I did all I possibly could to mollify him, told him that I should be very sorry if a mere error in formality were to have a prejudicial effect upon the course of affairs, and that I had not imagined he would write to the Queen directly he got my letter, but expected he would first question Herr von Usedom himself as to the object of his Mission, and would then ask him for a copy of the King's letter. As Lord Clarendon had not done this, Herr von Usedom probably thought he could not enter into negotiations or political pourparlers until the letter was delivered, the King having written that it was for the Queen to decide whether he was to confer with her Ministers. I added, however, that if Lord Clarendon desired or demanded it, I would request Herr von Usedom to give him a copy of the letter and to communicate to him the object of the Mission.

"Thereupon he said that everything very much depended upon whether the contents of the King's letter were of such a nature that he could advise the Queen to receive it. From what I had said, the object seemed to be to negotiate direct with the Queen and to pass over her Ministers, and this he asserted to be absolutely contrary

to constitutional procedure, and he knew what his duty was under the circumstances. I assured him that this was not the object in view, but that the question was purely a formal one, and that Herr von Usedom was commissioned to negotiate with him and to make overtures calculated to lead to the very rapprochement he himself desired. I, therefore, urgently besought him not to make out of a mere matter of formality an incident likely to prove prejudicial to our relations. He did not seem able, however, to disabuse himself of the impression that the King intended to negotiate with Queen Victoria behind the backs of her Ministers, and stuck to it that he must acquaint her Majesty with what had occurred."

Manteuffel wrote to reassure Bernstorff as to the object of Usedom's Mission and made reference to the King's wish that the common Protestantism of England and Germany should be brought more forward. It was known that the King of Prussia was in a state of extreme anxiety, fearing that a "Jesuit Catholic coalition," for the purpose of annihilating Prussia, might either soon arise, or be actually on foot, between the Papal See, Austria and France.[1]

This suspicion on the King's part was fostered by the "Kreuz Zeitung" party, which did everything it possibly could to inspire him with mistrust of Austria and her "Catholic" plans, as it wished to prevent an understanding with that power. As far as England was concerned, they feared nothing, since an agreement with the English Cabinet was still a far-off possibility. Manteuffel touched upon the most important of these points, and added, in allusion to Usedom's Mission, that he had "been opposed

[1] See Posschinger, "Foreign Policy of Prussia, from 1850–1858," vol. ii., p. 553.

to it from the outset, but had been unable to prevent it, and did not wish to make it a 'casus belli,' for fear of serious consequences."

He had tried to convince the King of its futility, but in vain. Now, since it could not be altered, he would confine himself to the following remarks. He writes:—

"1. Herr von Usedom, to my certain knowledge, did not ask to be sent on this Mission. The request for him to undertake it was unexpected and came direct from the King himself.

"2. He has not a single line from me, and the actual negotiations with regard to the treaty we are eventually to make will be conducted alone by your Excellency.

"3. His Majesty has expressly charged me to tell your Excellency that this Mission does not imply the slightest dissatisfaction with, or mistrust of yourself; his Majesty can assure you that the very reverse is the case.

"4. In the letter which Usedom is taking from the King to Queen Victoria, and of which you will receive a copy, especial care has been taken to guard against the view that the object of this Mission is to sow the seeds of discord between England and France. I therefore beg your Excellency not to take the matter to heart: it is at least as disagreeable to me as to you. I do not believe that it will lead to any good results, but I doubt not that your Excellency will take every pains, as I myself have done, to ensure its having as good an effect as it possibly can."[1]

From the above it will be apparent that Usedom was mistaken when he told the King that Manteuffel had charged Bernstorff to use every means to bring his Mission to grief. Nothing could be further from the truth than the

[1] Manteuffel to Bernstorff. Berlin, December 18th, 1854. Among Bernstorff's papers.

report current at the time, that Manteuffel was working *sub rosa* in direct opposition to Usedom, and that he had told Bernstorff to put every obstruction in the way of the special emissary.[1] It need hardly be added that Bernstorff would *never* have lent himself to such intrigues.

"Usedom soon approached the English Ministers with his proposals.[2] Lord Clarendon said that these "rough jottings," as he called them, were inadmissible because they were drawn up in favour of Russia. He feared that England would come into collision with the Roman Catholic powers, France and Austria, were she to lay too great a stress upon the Protestant idea. And he again emphatically asserted that he uncompromisingly rejected all special Missions. The English newspapers, one and all, scoffed at the Usedom Mission, and the negotiations made no progress, because the King was changing his views as to the methods to be adopted with the English Cabinet.

"What was my husband to do?" says the Countess. "If he showed himself conciliatory, they taxed him in Berlin with weakness; if he assumed an energetic tone, then they said he would upset everything. For instance, in October the King told Count Henckel that he was very much pleased with Bernstorff, who was just the person he needed, but that he had not so much courage as he himself had. This was because my husband had warned him of the danger Prussia incurred by persisting in her isolation. On every other occasion my husband had always been of opinion, whatever the King might state to the contrary, that Prussia should present a bold front to the Western Powers. Again, one day when Count Bernstorff had told Lord Clarendon that England must give Usedom a favour-

[1] The originator of this falsehood was F. H. Geffcken, in his book on "The History of the War in the East, 1853–1856."

[2] Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

able answer, and not force Prussia into the arms of Russia, they wrote from Berlin that he had better not give vent to such threats, as they did not in the least represent the King's intentions."

Bernstorff received the following letter from the King on this subject:—

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Bernstorff.

"CHARLOTTENBURG, *January 24th*, 1855.

"My dear Count,

"You have told Lord Clarendon that he must give a definite reply to Usedom. I find myself compelled to inform you that to use such pressure to bring about an arrangement with Usedom is to run directly counter to my intentions and to the object of Usedom's mission.

"I set the very greatest value upon your harmonious co-operation with Usedom, for you are just the man to put forward in a favourable light whatever points strike him as attainable. Had he any idea of what you intended to do he would have begged you to desist, and would have told me of it. His silence in the matter shows me that the harmonious co-operation to which I have referred does not exist between you. I therefore expressly command you, my dear Count, to keep Herr von Usedom always *au courant* of the instructions you receive from hence in this matter, and to discuss with him the steps that such instructions seem to render necessary. I also command you to advise him of all communications private or official —without any exception—which my Cabinet has sent you with regard to his Mission. The highly important object of this Mission can only properly be attained by two such distinguished men as yourself, my dear Count, and Herr von Usedom playing into each other's hands.

"My kindest remembrances to Countess Bernstorff. In

conclusion, I must express my grateful approval of the satisfactory position you have acquired for yourself in London under such unspeakably difficult circumstances. Ernst Bunsen has borne good testimony to it here. May God continue to bless your undertakings. Vale.

"FRIEDRICH WILHELM."[1]

Private despatch from Bernstorff to the King.

"LONDON, *February 2nd*, 1855.

"When your Majesty's gracious letter of the 24th ult. reached me I had already received instructions from Herr von Manteuffel not to employ any further pressure to induce Lord Clarendon to give an answer to Herr von Usedom, your Majesty being of opinion that such action might do harm. I have gone to work with the greatest possible openness, and Herr von Usedom being an old friend and acquaintance, I have made no secret to him of any of my actions, so that if, as he tells your Majesty, he was unaware I had begged Lord Clarendon to answer him, this must be because I had not seen him for about a week, as he was paying several visits in the country.

"Your Majesty attaches great importance to my harmonious co-operation with Herr von Usedom, but your Majesty will at the same time surely recognize that it is impossible for it to be all on one side, that it is only practicable if Herr von Usedom will, in his turn, communicate to me all his instructions, the contents of his despatches and the steps he intends taking. So far he has not done this, for I am unacquainted with everything

[1] Another autograph letter from the King to Manteuffel, given in Posschinger's "Foreign Policy of Prussia from 1850–1858," vol. iii., p. 39, dated January 24th, 1855, and written at night from Charlottenburg, also bears evidence of great excitement.

save his first despatch. I must, therefore, most respectfully beg your Majesty graciously to issue to him the same orders as to myself, when I, for my part, will not fail to co-operate harmoniously with him, directly we have definite business in hand over which such co-operation is possible. But, with all due deference to your Majesty, I cannot forbear expressing the opinion that my position here, to which your Majesty has been pleased to refer in such gracious terms, will be rendered absolutely untenable, if the settlement of necessary measures and the execution of definite business is to be much longer entrusted to this double management. Not only does it lead, as experience has shown, to misunderstanding and annoyance, owing to the double instructions; but it will also undermine Prussia's prestige and credit, and the confidence placed in her by foreign countries, for every one will believe and say that though I may be the official Minister and Envoy Plenipotentiary of your Majesty's government, Herr von Usedom is your Majesty's personal representative, and possesses your Majesty's special confidence; from this they will infallibly augur a double policy.

"To give your Majesty some idea of what is thought of these special Missions, I here venture respectfully to mention a little incident to which otherwise I should not have taken the liberty of referring, namely: that Lord Clarendon said to me the other day with a laugh, that the Usedom Mission was nothing but a blind, being an attempt to send Russian proposals over here under the cloak of a Liberal policy. I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty's gracious consideration of these matters, and, for the sake of the interests involved, entreat your Majesty not to render my position more difficult than it actually is. . . ."

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Bernstorff.

[No. 10. Autograph letter.]

"BERLIN, *February 5th*, 1855.

"My dear Bernstorff,

"The letter just received from you takes a view of our mutual relations which is quite different from the one held by me.

"I told you to do so-and-so, because I naturally expected you to act as I said. You reply that you will do what I order, provided that Usedom will act thus and thus towards you. When I make arrangements with reference to a Mission which is entirely my own personal affair, it seems to me to go without saying that you ought to suppose I have good reasons for so doing. If, therefore, you on your part had your good reasons for believing that my interests would be better served by Usedom putting you more *au courant*, it surely would have been the natural thing, and I should have quite understood it, for you to have *asked* me if it suited my convenience to instruct Herr von Usedom to that end. But you should not make your obedience to my orders a conditional matter, and I am astonished at your doing so, and write these lines to tell you that *I insist on your abiding by my orders.*

"You will be glad to hear that I have given Herr von Usedom instructions *to act in reciprocity with you as far as he can.* He has very little to tell you compared with the things which I *know* you have it in your power to tell him, for whereas you have to send frequent despatches and are constantly in receipt of information from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Usedom has been sending scarcely any despatches at all, barely one a fortnight, until I ordered him to send a despatch once a week. Beyond this hastily written order, he has only re-

ceived two other notes from me, still more hastily written, with a few words of acknowledgment and encouragement.

"So far as I am aware, Freiherr von Manteuffel has not written to Herr von Usedom at all. So that from the very nature of the circumstances your exchange of confidences must necessarily be unequal. Nevertheless, it must be carried out, as being the desire of your well-wisher,

"F. W. R."

Countess Bernstorff alludes to the great influence exercised on Herr von Usedom by his wife. She had been a Miss Malcolm, and had made the acquaintance of her husband in Rome, where she was living with her mother. Unfortunately for Usedom, her eccentricities after her marriage were such as to render her notorious. In Rome she went by the nickname of "Captain Jack." She always wanted to be the *first* everywhere, and would even hustle cardinals aside because she wished to take precedence of them, etc.

"Through her husband she gave the King of Prussia to understand that her relations in England would be of assistance in furthering the objects of the Mission, and she made it her business to prolong Usedom's stay as far as possible and to advance his aims at the expense of my husband's position. She no doubt secretly hoped to oust us entirely in favour of themselves, and went about saying that my husband did not like England, was a great Liberal, etc. Fortunately for us, her conduct made her impossible, and at last no one would pay much attention to what she said."[1]

There was another reason for the negotiations being at a standstill, namely, that the King insisted that Prussia, as one of the signatories of the Treaty of 1841, possessed *ipso eo* the right of taking part in the intended Confer-

[1] Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

ence at Vienna; whereas the English statesmen demanded her accession to the alliance of Western Powers before they would make this "concession," as they called it. Prussia's difficulties were enhanced by the latest demand on the part of Austria. Count Buol, notwithstanding the trick he had played about the December treaty, now had the effrontery to require of Prussia in Austria's name the mobilization of troops to the number of 200,000. In support of this demand, he alleged that the Prussian Government was pledged by the terms of the Additional Article to send an army to the Eastern frontier, should Austria be menaced by Russia on the boundaries of Poland. On January 5th Count Buol's demand was refused by Prussia, with the very just objection that at present Austria was in no such danger. Thereupon Drouyn de L'huys sent a despatch to the French ambassador in Berlin, declaring that under those circumstances the Western Powers could not possibly admit Prussia to the Vienna Conference. Thus matters continued to revolve in a circle and a solution seemed no nearer than before.

England agreed with France, and her Majesty's Ministers turned a deaf ear to all Count Bernstorff's arguments on behalf of the Prussian point of view. The Count's personal position was, nevertheless, rendered somewhat easier for the moment, owing to Usedom's temporary absence from London. General Wedell was being sent to Paris on a special mission from the King of Prussia, to negotiate over the head of Count Hatzfeldt, the Prussian Minister, for a Franco-Prussian alliance, and Usedom received orders to proceed to Brussels, where he was to meet the General, and give him verbal information as to the state of feeling in London. General von Wedell begged Usedom to accompany him to Paris to assist him with advice, and they therefore went on there together.

"Frau von Usedom, who had remained behind in London, took the greatest trouble to spread the report everywhere that General von Wedell and her husband were the sole representatives of the King, who was in a conciliatory mood, and urgently desired to conclude a treaty with the Western Powers. My husband and Count Hatzfeldt were, she said, the agents of Manteuffel, and, like him, out and out Russophiles. . . . She kept assuring every one that things were going on capitally in Paris, and at first a great many people believed her, and were in consequence rather put out with my husband, who did not speak with such confidence. . . . At last, however, as nothing came of all she said, people began to ridicule her, and said openly that she was like Herr von Bunsen, who always tried to raise hopes which were never fulfilled. . . .

"When at last Usedom returned from Paris, it was patent that the whole scheme for concluding a treaty with the Western Powers had come to naught. From one point of view only could the affair be reckoned a success, and that was, supposing it to have been a device on the King's part to put off the decisive moment, so as not to be placed in the position of being forced to choose between Russia and the Western Powers.[1]

[1] Neither Manteuffel nor Hatzfeldt were to blame for the failure of the negotiations, as Usedom and Wedell afterwards stated. The King himself changed his mind in the middle of the proceedings. He did not wish the alliance proposed by the Western Powers for purposes of offence and defence; he had merely agreed to the general idea of establishing a Prussian army corps on the Russian frontier (point four of the "esquisse paraphée," drawn up by Wedell and Usedom), and would employ military intervention in defence of Austria, "en cas de revers sûr les frontières du royaume de Pologne," even were Austria to be the aggressive party. However, on February 26th Louis Napoleon telegraphed to demand that Prussia should sign the treaty proposed by the Western Powers, whereupon the King broke off all further negotiations. See Posschinger, vol. iii., pp. 50, 52, 62. The Western Powers were perfectly ready to agree not to march through Germany and Poland, in accordance with the King's view.

"Lord John Russell was still negotiating at Berlin when an unexpected event occurred which put a fresh obstacle in the way of the projected treaty. This was the death, at noon on March 2nd, of the Tsar Nicholas, the author of the disastrous war, the mighty monarch who had seen all Europe at his feet, and for many years in the grip of his iron will, a great warrior and an autocrat in every sense of the word. At two o'clock in the afternoon my husband received a telegram from Berlin, with the intelligence that the attack of influenza, which had confined the Tsar to his bed, had suddenly become of so serious a character that there were the very gravest doubts of his recovery. The telegram was, however, only a private one. My husband communicated the telegram, privately, to Prince Albert, who wrote him a few gracious words of thanks for the attention, saying that he also had received a message. At one o'clock they had already been shouting the news in the streets, and had even said that the Tsar was dead. The report of his death was not, however, confirmed till the evening. The event was most upsetting, and every body wondered what important results would follow."[1]

[1] Frau von Usedom happened to be calling on me when the official news of the Tsar's death arrived. She went so far in her excitement as to say that, if the tidings were true, it must be a case of poison, and then suggested that all his family were poisoned as well, and the throne already occupied by the Grand Duke Constantine, the most warlike of all the Russian grand dukes. But, on the other hand, she thought that the death of the Tsar would really be too great a piece of "luck" for Prussia, and that the news could not be true. When my husband came in with the telegram which put an end to all further conjectures, she rose and ran up and down the room, throwing up her arms and exclaiming again and again, "Gracious heavens! gracious heavens!" Then she sank down exhausted on to a chair, and, after a few moments' silence, laid her hand on her heart and said, "I am a very wicked woman"; but started up again, exclaiming even more passionately, "Prussia is saved!" She had a very silent niece with her, one of those Englishwomen who hardly open their mouths when they speak. When she saw how excited her aunt was, she broke silence and said, in the most phlegmatic of tones, "Is this very good

Frau von Usedom, like a great many other people in English society, supposed that King Friedrich Wilhelm's last ground of objection to joining the alliance of the Western Powers was now removed. This opinion was not shared by Count and Countess Bernstorff. We quote the following from the Countess's "Reminiscences":—

"There was no doubt that our sovereign's strong feelings on the subject of the divine right of kings made him incline to the side of Russia, to which power he was more than ever bound by tradition and old family ties. True, he had often been annoyed and alarmed by the Tsar's ambition and repelled by his decided and autocratic character. He likewise disapproved of the Tsar's mania for extending Russian influence in every direction, and looked upon his attack on Turkey as an injustice, and he gave a proof of these sentiments by showing an inclination for a time to join the Western Powers.[1] For all that, the Russian system of government always stood higher in his estimation, on the whole, than the English. . . . In my opinion, there was a strong probability that the King would magnanimously forget all the wrongs that had been done him by the Russian ruler, and would only remember the undeniable greatness of the dead man's character and his relationship to him.[2] All the more so, as he had no

for Prussia, dear aunt?" In a voice trembling from emotion, Frau von Usedom replied, "My child, Prussia is saved!" "Oh, I am very glad of it," rejoined the young Englishwoman, in the same imperturbable tone. The whole scene was so comic and unusual that I could not help laughing, though I was in anything but a laughing mood."—Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

[1] This was the case shortly after the death of the Tsar, as is shown by the letter of March 8th from Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Louis Napoleon printed in the appendix. The attitude of the French Emperor, which caused the King of Prussia to break off negotiations, as above mentioned, also set him at liberty once more to indulge his penchant for Russia.

[2] An explanation of this is given in a letter printed in the appendix from Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Napoleon III. Bellevue, March 8th, 1858.

anxiety about the young heir to the throne, either on the score of political views or peculiarities of character.

"The news of the Tsar's death was communicated to both Houses of Parliament the same evening, and was received in total silence. Less tact, however, was shown by the public, the performances at several of the theatres being interrupted while 'God save the Queen' was played. All the continental Courts went into mourning, but when Walewski interpellated Clarendon as to whether this would be the case in England, the Secretary of State emphatically negatived the suggestion, and the Queen even appeared at the theatre the very next day. Louis Napoleon, on the contrary, had at once put off a concert which was to take place at Court."

Public feeling in London was still as warlike as ever, and grew more so when the new Tsar issued a manifesto declaring that he intended carrying on essentially the same policy as his father.

As for Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm, under the first influence of the news, sent a courier to Bernstorff with a despatch expressive of the deepest sentiments of regret at the Tsar's death. This despatch reached London on the evening of March 11th, and was accompanied by an autograph letter to Usedom, in which the King for the first time expressed dissatisfaction with his conduct. Usedom, who had by this time returned to London, had, in his usual optimistic fashion, held out far too great hopes to the English Cabinet of a speedy accession on Prussia's part to the alliance of the Western Powers, and in the King's opinion had not laid sufficient stress on her *right* to take part in the conference.

The King censured his special envoy in the sharpest manner for having let the English government suppose that he, the King, would renounce his good right to take

part in the Conference, and that he would purchase by concession what was justly his. He said he was in the highest degree astonished that Usedom should have given vent to such utterances, when he had been explicitly ordered, in writing, to say: That Prussia was ready to sign the Protocol and to engage, in unison with the Western Powers, to preserve the integrity of the Sublime Porte against attack by Russia, but that she could only do this on the preliminary understanding that she was to be admitted unconditionally to the Conference. The King also asked for a postponement of the negotiations, on the plea that he was too much affected by the Tsar's death to be able to come to a calm decision.

Meantime, while the prospects of peace were being eagerly discussed on the Continent, England equipped a large fleet for service in the Baltic. This did not indicate a cessation of hostilities, any more than did the military preparations which were being made by France. Russia also was beginning a new conscription. The British nation hoped for great successes to their arms. But how could such be possible when those persons who were entrusted with the management of military affairs still took matters so easily? The simple account given by Countess Bernstorff of her meeting at a ball with the Duke of Newcastle, at that time Secretary of State for War, speaks volumes. A gentleman was pointed out to her as the Secretary for War.

"At first," she says, "I thought it was a joke, and addressed an inquiry to two other persons, but they also pointed out the same young man as the individual who, rightly or wrongly, has been so violently attacked in public, and who is said to be in large measure responsible for the horrible condition of things in the English army. I, who have been accustomed at home to see distinguished officers

and men of grave experience at the head of the War Office, could not at first believe that this smart young fellow, with his free and easy manners and his happy smile, looking as if he had not a care in the world, could be the Minister into whose hands was committed so grave a charge. I was obliged, however, to be convinced of his identity. A veil, as it were, fell from my eyes, and I then understood what had hitherto been incomprehensible to me; how it was that England had been so unsuccessful in this campaign. It is not that the Duke of Newcastle alone is responsible for the melancholy results, but I denounce the whole system, which must be utterly false and pernicious if it can lead, as I had visible evidence here, to a young man without any military experience being given such a post merely in order to have a majority in Parliament. When there is a question in England of making some one a Minister they only think of the number of votes which he has behind him in the Lower House, and he is given first one portfolio and then another as occasion requires, no matter if he is fitted for the post or not. The Duke of Newcastle would, so they say, have done capitally as Secretary for the Colonies, but he has certainly never shown any talent as War Minister. . . . In English political life the first thing is to stick to your position, and if a man can only keep in office, he doesn't bother himself much as to the result of his actions. . . ."

The most serious thing about the parliamentary situation was that the new Ministry, entrusted with such immense responsibilities, was liable to be overthrown at any moment. The final decision lay in the hands of the Peelites. "No one exactly knew whether this small party wished to turn the government out or to keep it in office. The Peelites had come from the ranks of the Tories, splitting off, not on account of differences in

their political programme, but because of the Tory attack on Sir Robert Peel. They were particularly opposed to Disraeli, who had previously offended Peel, and who was hand and glove with Lord Derby, the chief of the Tory party. In the country itself, the government had another difficulty to contend with in the shape of a small but combative faction, of which John Bright was the apostle, and it was supposed the Peelites would unite with him. Bulwer Lytton, the novelist, a Tory member, said to Countess Bernstorff: "We are keeping quiet now because we are certain we can overthrow the Ministry at any moment."[1]

Meanwhile, France had been making most marked advances to Austria. It is well known that Drouyn de L'huys, then the leader of French politics, although the actual control was, of course, in Louis Napoleon's hands, regarded Austria as the most natural ally for France, because he considered that Austria's policy, on purely selfish grounds, must necessarily be to foment between Italy and Germany those differences which were of such importance for France. Besides this, the fact of Austria being a Roman Catholic power must tend to draw her nearer to France. This rapprochement was to Bernstorff an additional reason for

[1] The Countess had made Bulwer Lytton's acquaintance on an earlier occasion. She writes of him thus: "I met Bulwer Lytton, the novelist, at Lady Granville's. He has a very intelligent face and a fine bushy head of hair. Unfortunately, he is so silent that it is difficult to carry on conversation with him, but, nevertheless, I managed to get him to talk to me for a long while about some of his novels. He asked me if I thought 'Pelham' very cynical, and in answer to my question which of his own works he preferred, he mentioned 'Eugene Aram.' When he put the same question to me, I replied that I should find it difficult to choose, as I liked all his novels so much, but that perhaps my special favourite was 'Night and Morning,' to which he nodded assent. The poor poet is apparently less amiable as a husband than as an author, and his wife ran away from him one fine day."

The true story of Lord Lytton's separation from his wife is to be found in vol. i. of Lady Betty Balfour's "Life" of her father, the second Lord Lytton.—Tr.

taking an unfavourable view of the situation. He had already often given warning of the danger which an understanding between Austria and France would involve for Prussia, and he now felt compelled to reiterate this warning. In his despatch to Manteuffel of April 2nd he speaks in most emphatic terms on the subject, and on the policy then being pursued at Vienna.

Extract from Bernstorff's despatch to Manteuffel.

"LONDON, *April 2nd*, 1855.

"Whether, in the event of peace being concluded, Austria's intentions will prove warlike or not, of this much I am positive, that she will endeavour to secure for herself that advantageous position in Germany which her allies promise her as the natural reward of the attitude she has adopted in the present crisis, i.e., *she will try to place herself decisively at the head of Germany and to acquire the exclusive lead in German affairs.*

"With this end in view, she will presumably begin by trying to carry out the Schwarzenberg testament, namely, the inclusion of the whole of Austria in the German Confederation and in the Zollverein. Count Buol, whom Prince Schwarzenberg himself recommended to the Emperor as his successor, and whom he selected as the depository of his ideas; Herr von Bach, probably the actual originator of those ideas, and said to be a prime mover with Count Buol in the present policy; and Baron von Bruck, who, though less hostile to Prussia, has nevertheless warmly espoused these great ideas of a middle European Empire—these are just the men to pursue with the greatest energy and perseverance, *as well as the utmost duplicity, those plans which aim at either the moral or the material downfall of Prussia.* If, therefore, the existing state of things is such as to preclude the possibility of the two German

Powers arriving at a mutual *modus vivendi*, then, unless I am mistaken, *it will be absolutely imperative for Prussia to exercise the greatest possible circumspection and to hold herself in readiness for war in all parts of her dominions.*"

The Prince of Prussia shared to the full all Bernstorff's apprehensions. It will be remembered that he had been kept informed of the course of affairs in London through copies of despatches. The Prince had opposed the Usedom Mission in so far as it bore on the policy adopted towards England. In his opinion, Prussia ought simply to have declared that she would join the Triple Alliance should Russia not show unmistakable signs of desiring peace before January 1st. Such a declaration on Prussia's part would have to be sent simultaneously to St. Petersburg, and would, so his Royal Highness thought, force the Tsar Nicholas to disclose his real intentions. But the Prince considered that in any case Prussia could not take such a step without previously having an exact understanding as to the interpretation set upon the "Four Points." "One of these," he says, "makes a claim which I must declare to be utterly unjustifiable, so long as no decisive victory has been won in the Crimea. I mean the demand for the demolition of Sebastopol and the reduction of the Black Sea fleet, before either of them had been taken. To require this beforehand is to my mind not to desire peace."

The Prince of Prussia to Bernstorff.

COBLENZ, 9. iv. '55.

"I am only now returning the enclosed with many thanks for the sight of them, because I have been reading over the earlier despatches by degrees as I found time. These 'pieces' will some day be of satisfaction to you, as in them you predict how things will turn out if we persist in this

queer policy which no one can make head or tail of. How can we possibly be trusted? We are already paying for our shifty behaviour! And, although I am not blind to the injuries that have been done us by Vienna, London, and Paris, still, I would not advise the Berlin Government to get too much on the high horse, nor to ask: 'Why is Prussia being treated thus?' For the answer obviously is—Because Prussia was the first offender, and has taken steps which have laid her open to suspicion.

"You can imagine how terribly upset I am at the death of my friend, the Tsar. His loss is an irreparable one, but it never occurred to me that it could produce any change in Russia's policy which might affect Prussia; so that I was not prepared for the result of the Usedom-Wedell negotiations, nor did I approve of them. Something must be decided one way or the other at Vienna within a few days. It is clear to me that we shall continue to maintain a policy of inaction in everything until forced by one side or the other to come to terms—surely the most unbecoming part a first-grade power can well play. '*Mais que faire?*' I am keeping clear of all, so as to avoid being compromised again. Do hold on as long as your conscience will allow you.

"With kindest remembrances to your wife,

"Your,

"PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

On the evening of March 29th, 1855, Drouyn de L'huys arrived in London, ostensibly for the purpose of discussing with the English Ministers the third of the "Four Points." As a matter of fact, however, he came over on a Special Mission concerning the projected visit of Louis Napoleon and his wife to the English Court. The Emperor wished to come to London on April 16th. We quote the following from Countess Bernstorff:—

"The moment was well chosen. Louis Napoleon desired to confirm the alliance, to extend his political influence and to impose his iron will upon England. The English people promised him an enthusiastic reception, but the members of the Upper Ten were less enchanted at the prospect of his visit, and openly commiserated the Queen for having to receive this 'parvenu couple,' even going so far as to say that the whole proceeding was derogatory to the Queen's dignity. There was also a serious anxiety lest something might happen to the Emperor during his stay in England, and the police doubled their precautionary measures in consequence, extra police reinforcements even being had over from Paris. So Louis Napoleon was actually coming to England!—Louis Napoleon, whom London had formerly known as an exile in most wretched circumstances—a man who at one time had not been reckoned as even belonging to good society. He was now to return as a mighty monarch, and to be received with the highest honours by the English Sovereign! And his wife—the granddaughter of an English consul, and formerly a mere coquettish adventuress—though of good family—was she really to be the object of attentions from the Queen? And from this Queen, who was such an excellent mother, and so strict about her domestic duties! How could any intercourse possibly take place on a footing of equality between the royal couple and their guests—especially between the two ladies? And what a trying time was in store for the Queen! She, the friend and relation of the exiled Orleans family, to have to receive their mortal enemy! The 'Times,' with caustic sarcasm, asked derisively what Louis Napoleon was to be shown in London, since he knew everything save the inside of the royal palace. This last, of course, he would revel in, as he had been so long under the ban and outlawry of Europe. Other jour-

nals sneeringly said that it was quite appropriate for him to visit the country whose real ruler he was, while one of the comic papers had a picture of the Emperor sitting on a tub in the water, guiding a very emaciated duck by a magnet—a clear sarcasm on the melancholy condition of English politics.

"But notwithstanding all the objections urged by the upper classes, the masses were all for his visit. It is true the people were very much disappointed at the mismanagement of military affairs, and tired of all the accounts of the horrors of the war and the sufferings of the soldiers, but after all, the war must go on, so that it was just as well to keep the Emperor of the French in a good humour. In a short time England was wild with enthusiasm about him, and about the Empress too.

"The Queen of England, who had, at first, had great objections to the visit, gradually altered her mind and decided to receive her guests with every honour. Out of consideration for their feelings she even went the length of calling the 'Waterloo Chamber' at Windsor the 'picture gallery.' She also took every kind of precaution to ensure the safety of her powerful ally during his sojourn in London. There was an excessive fear of an attempt being made on Louis Napoleon's life, and among the French officials whose assistance had been requested, was the Chief of Police of Paris. Count Walewski exhibited great anxiety, and was particularly afraid of the progress through the City. His wife, writing to a friend, declared that they were half dead with suspense. At length all precautions were completed. The Queen subjected them to a preliminary trial, and personally supervised the preparation of the rooms destined for her Imperial guests. On the evening of the 15th, Prince Albert went to Dover to meet them, as they landed on the following day from Calais, where they had passed the night.

"Heaven itself seemed bent on favouring either the hospitality of England or the august travellers, for the weather, which, up till then, had been very bad, suddenly became glorious, and the sun beamed out on London with unwonted brilliance. Unfortunately, I happened just then to be ill for a week, so could only watch the Emperor's entry from the window. In Waterloo Place there was great enthusiasm, but my husband said that there had been less cheering in Hyde Park. One of the papers described the entry as follows: 'When the royal train passed Charing Cross at about a quarter past six, the Empress and Prince Albert were seen to be engaged in an animated conversation. The former appeared to be asking the Prince questions which he was answering, while the Emperor from time to time made some laughing observation.' The Empress was wearing a dark coat and hat, which did not please the English, as they like bright colours. In spite of the lovely sunshine in London, the English climate remained true to its traditions, and soon after leaving Calais the fog was so thick as to occasion the travellers serious anxiety, and their boat could only proceed with difficulty.[1] For good or ill Louis Napoleon made his entry into London in bright sunshine.

"We saw the Court enter London from Windsor on

[1] One of the vessels, the Countess tells us, even ran aground at Dover. She also gives a humorous account of the muddle in the arrangements after the arrival. "The Empress could not get a hairdresser and had to do her own hair, her maids all being half dead with the crossing. Neither trunks nor keys were forthcoming. A dressing-case with the Empress's diamonds was hunted for in vain, and did not turn up till three days later at the hotel where the Prefect of the Seine was staying, having been taken there by some oversight. The recovered property was sent to Windsor, but the bearer thereof was eyed with suspicion by the numerous policemen surrounding the castle. However, there was great delight when it became known what he had brought. The dressing-case, made of rosewood, bore the imperial monogram, but was enclosed in a cover made of American cloth, which accounted for its being overlooked."

April 19th. The Emperor sat on the back seat of the carriage facing the Empress, and Prince Albert opposite the Queen. When the carriage came to Carlton House Terrace, where we were watching the procession, the Queen called Louis Napoleon's attention to the house. He bent forward a little and looked thoughtfully at the place where he had resided for a time during his former stay in England when a refugee and an outlaw. Had the famous 'Napoleonic ideas' originated here, I wonder? The royalties were in a closed carriage with an escort of mounted policemen, and the route was lined with spectators held in check by large forces of police. The weather was beautiful. An hour later the Emperor and Empress returned by the same route—accompanied by Count Walewski and General Vaillant—on their way to Guildhall. A few sentries were stationed at intervals in the Park, and in other places, as in Waterloo Place for instance, where there were bands playing the Emperor's hymn: 'Partant pour la Syrie.' Never have I seen London looking so gay; all the bells were ringing, the air was clear and sunny, and the windows bright with tricolour decorations."

There was such a fearful crush at the reception given to the diplomatic corps at the French Embassy, that Bernstorff's carriage became blocked in a string of vehicles and was kept waiting so long that they had to get out and walk, arriving at their destination almost too late.

"The Imperial carriages were already at the door, and we were told that the reception was over; but I thought we ought to do our utmost, so we made our way between horses and carriages into the house. On the stairs we met several of our colleagues who were leaving, which looked as if the ceremony must really be over. However, the Emperor did not hold the reception after the continental fashion, but according to English custom, the corps diplo-

matique filing before him, and it was owing to this circumstance that we arrived in time, notwithstanding our delay. The Emperor and Empress were standing with their backs to the window, their military suite drawn up behind them. Count Walewski stood next the Emperor, and Countess Walewska next the Empress; then came the Empress's ladies. . . . The Emperor talked with my husband for some time, and gave him distinctly to understand that he had a great desire to come to an agreement with Prussia. He ended by informing him that Herr von Usedom was going to stay on for some time longer in London. We were very much amused at this communication—it was one more proof of how much candour was shown us by this Envoy Extraordinary. We had not had the least idea of this intention on his part, and the first intimation of it was through Louis Napoleon. While my husband was talking to the Emperor I had a long conversation with the Empress, whom I was pleased to find very simple and easy to get on with and charming in her manners. She expressed the hope of seeing me and my husband in Paris during the Exhibition, and then spoke of their journey and their delightful reception in London, regretted to hear that I had not been well, and hoped that my coming out would do me no harm. Louis Napoleon then spoke to me of Paris, of my long residence there, of my father, etc. . . . The arrival of the Danish Minister, who came after we did, put an end to the conversation.

"The Emperor spoke very little to the other diplomats. Prince Carini, the Neapolitan Minister, behaved in a rather unfortunate manner. Finding that the Emperor did not address a single word to him, he tried to open a conversation himself by remarking that he had formerly had the honour of making His Majesty's acquaintance in Rome, whereupon the Emperor answered curtly: 'That is so long

ago that I cannot remember it.' There was also a very comic episode with the American Minister, Mr. Buchanan, to whom the Emperor spoke of New York and the good reception he had once met with there during his banishment. Mr. Buchanan said: 'Oh, I do hope your Majesty will not go there again.' The Emperor, without losing his equanimity, retorted: 'Why not? Distances are now so much reduced that I could pay a visit there quite as easily as to London.' 'And,' resumed the American, 'another journey is talked of which it is also to be hoped you will not take—I mean to the Crimea!' 'We shall see about that later,' rejoined the Emperor.[1] Count Walewski, who told us this, added that the American was trying to cover the embarrassment he felt in the Emperor's presence by saying the most impossible things with well-feigned self-assurance.

"We stayed on to see the Emperor and Empress get into their carriage—a closed landau which my husband did not think very elegant. The windows, the balconies, and the streets were crowded with people waving handkerchiefs and cheering, and the band again played the Emperor's hymn. Count Walewski, followed by his secretaries and attachés, escorted the Emperor to his carriage. Although he kept entirely within the bounds of etiquette, his manner to the Emperor was neither very deferential nor very respectful. One of the attachés, on the contrary, M. de

[1] There was great talk of the Emperor going to the Crimea to assume command of the army. Public opinion—especially outside France—was universally against this project. It was feared, in the first place, that the war would be prolonged by such a step, which would be regrettable as far as an early prospect of peace was concerned. In the second place, there was an anxiety lest something might happen to the Emperor in the field. In England there were special reasons for not wishing him to go to the Crimea, since it would have injured Prince Albert's credit, he having stopped at home during the war in obedience to the Queen's commands.

Saur, a young, smart-looking man, manifested such earnest devotion, and made such a show of being overwhelmed with the Emperor's presence, that I could not help remarking to my husband that this gentleman was behaving exactly as if he were in the presence of a real monarch, and actually seemed to take the whole affair seriously.

"After the Emperor and Empress had gone, I had a few minutes' talk with the Countess Walewska, who told me that everything so far had gone off capitally, but that they were very anxious about the procession through the City, as well as the drive to the theatre in the evening. However, all passed off without any *contretemps*. At the theatre the Queen led the Emperor forward to the front of the box, and he bowed somewhat stiffly and ceremoniously to the public. It is quite incredible what people had to pay for seats at this performance. Twenty guineas were given for standing room behind the scenes with the choir, which was to sing 'God save the Queen' and 'Partant pour la Syrie.' That evening all the great business establishments, the public buildings, and private houses were profusely illuminated. On the balconies of the clubs the initials of the Emperor and Empress and those of the Queen and Prince Albert were lit up with gas jets. They formed the word N E V A, a melancholy and chilling reminiscence amid all this flood of light and the general rejoicing and extravagance. Vast crowds of people thronged the streets, and the carriages were unable to get through the press.

"The next day we saw the royalties pass on their way to Sydenham, this time in an open landau, but with a strong bodyguard, and behind them a long string of carriages. They were preceded by outriders, which made a grand show. The festivities at Sydenham went off brilliantly, and the weather favoured the Emperor, for it was again splendid. Five thousand people were said to have

been present, and the enthusiasm was quite overpowering. They cheered so tremendously that the Queen had to appear several times on the balcony overlooking the gardens, leading the Emperor by the hand. In the evening there was a state concert, to which the diplomatic body was invited, the first invitation it had received since the Emperor's arrival. Only a very limited number of persons was asked, which occasioned much discontent among members of the aristocracy, who were also annoyed because the Queen did not give a large and brilliant function which might bear comparison with the magnificent entertainments in the city. I was told that the Emperor stuck out his left leg that evening as much as possible to show off his Order of the Garter. The Princess Royal was present at this concert, and simply devoured the Empress with her eyes. On Saturday morning at ten o'clock the Imperial guests left Buckingham Palace, Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge accompanying them as far as Dover. After a cordial leave-taking they went on board and started for Calais, where they were to spend the night.

"The visit of the French Emperor having passed off without mishap, the Queen and her Ministers—every one in short—breathed freely once more. Louis Napoleon had returned to France without any cloud having arisen on the political horizon to trouble the alliance, and without any attempt having been made on his life. But it must not be forgotten that his being spared all injury at the hands of his numerous foes was probably due to the excessive precautions taken for his safety. The French police not only encircled Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace with an iron cordon all the time the Emperor was there, but they posted two police officials at the entrance to the park at Claremont, and a third at the nearest railway station. The Duc d'Aumale, who went to Claremont

every day to see his mother, recognized one of these officials as a former zouave, and the man saluted him, entered into conversation, and showed him a written warrant from the Chief of the Paris police, in which it was requested that the holder of the warrant might have assistance if necessary from the English police. The Orleans family were very angry at these measures. However, they received many visitors during the Emperor's stay, both French and English, and even the English Ministers called.

"I add a few little details of the Imperial visit which I had from reliable witnesses. The Queen was really very much agitated beforehand, and on the day before her guests arrived she kept walking up and down, saying: 'How nervous I am!' The Emperor, with that talent which no one will deny to him, had arranged beforehand exactly how he was going to behave in London, and exhibited great tact and an intimate knowledge of the English people. He showed by his bearing that he was perfectly well aware of the difference between the representative of an ancient dynasty and a 'parvenu,' and studiously endeavoured to keep the mean between these two positions. The Empress Eugénie's manner was simple, and almost shy, and she appeared sincerely touched by the friendly reception accorded to her. Throughout her visit she always kept behind the Queen, and the latter, who on several occasions with polite compliments made a show of letting the Empress go first, always ended by preceding her. The Imperial guests took a great deal of notice of the royal children, and were very charming to them. Another point worth mentioning is that the Emperor never showed himself to be the least moved, surprised or grateful at the enthusiasm and ovations offered him by the English people. Only when he was being invested

with the Order of the Garter was there, so said some spectators, a certain excitement perceptible on his immobile and expressionless features. He never disowned the past, and showed in this that he knew exactly how to flatter the English, and to appeal to their weak side. Not only did he refer publicly at the Guildhall to the time when he had as an exile enjoyed this country's hospitality, but he made allusions in the same strain in private. For instance, on catching sight of Lord Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby, he beckoned to him, and said: 'Have you forgotten the time we were both special constables during the Chartist riots?'"

This was when the Duke of Wellington, there being a lack of soldiers, called upon the inhabitants of London to enroll themselves as police for the defence of England. The Emperor naturally wanted to win over Lord Derby, and had several conversations with him during his stay. As a matter of fact, he attained his object, for the tone of the Tory party with regard to the French alliance soon after changed considerably.

"The Empress also expressed herself quite openly about her past life. She spoke simply and straightforwardly to her old acquaintances, reminding them of days they had spent together, and her manner to the Queen was very respectful.[1] Of course one may say that the Emperor's manner, like that of his wife, was studied and premeditated, but one cannot deny that he played his part with the utmost propriety, and managed to make the English bite at the bait he so temptingly dangled for them. His tactful behaviour won the Queen's regard,

[1] "People rather wondered indeed," writes the Countess, "at the Queen, on all public occasions, going first with the Emperor and letting the Empress follow with Prince Albert. I must say that I myself thought this quite correct, but there were many who considered it would have been better if the Queen had not allowed the Empress so entirely to efface herself."

which went beyond the bounds prescribed by mere political considerations. The Queen having found out that the Emperor's birthday and the name-day of the Empress occurred while they were in London, she presented him with a pencil-case richly set with emeralds, and his wife with a bracelet made of her, the Queen's, hair. Her Majesty was much moved at their departure, and the children wept. The Princess Royal, who was particularly taken with the Empress, shed bitter tears, and the Prince of Wales sobbed. During his visit, the Emperor breakfasted with the Queen and her children; he took an especial fancy to little Prince Arthur.

"The Empress rose later on account of her health.[1]

"In his utterances the Emperor showed himself very pacifically inclined; he spoke of Prussia with moderation, as he saw that the Queen was not at all in favour of a war with that power. In short, the comedy was admirably performed from start to finish, and was uncommonly appreciated. Never had such enthusiasm been shown in the streets of London since the Queen's coronation, which was the more remarkable as there was nothing engaging or attractive in the Emperor's outward man. He is ugly, his eyes have a dull lack-lustre expression, and in his countenance one seeks in vain for any trace of his talent, intelligence, and power of will. He gives one the impression of a man who has secret recourse to opium to quiet his nerves; his skin is yellow and wrinkled, and he has a short figure. People thought him stiff and not distinguished in his manners, though civil enough. His suite were not at all liked. The Empress can hardly be called a beautiful

[1] Bernstorff in a despatch to the King, London, April 27th, 1855, also states that both the Emperor and Empress had won the Queen's heart, and that Louis Napoleon had absolutely "bewitched" the members of the Cabinet, even Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston.

woman; she is a pretty person, with style, and very 'lady-like'; just that, no more, no less. This was the impression she made on everybody. 'She is no Empress and no Princess, but just a charming woman and *comme il faut*,' said the Duchess of Cambridge to me, while the Queen remarked to the Hanoverian Minister, who has been accredited here for years, '*N'est-elle pas délicieuse?*' The Empress dressed extraordinarily well, and wore magnificent jewels belonging to the crown. Her skirts were of remarkable width, but otherwise her very handsome and rich toilettes were in the best of taste and produced an effect of simplicity. . . ."

It was said that during the festivities there was one unpleasant contretemps. The Duke of Wellington introduced himself to Count Edgar Ney, but the latter turned his back on him out of hatred for the great Duke, whom the Ney family still blame for not having prevented the death of the Marshal. So that "Punch" after all was right in saying: "The son of the conqueror at Waterloo had better be hidden behind the arras during Louis Napoleon's visit!" This joke gave undisguised expression to the real feelings of the English public. The people felt that notwithstanding all the fêtes, the ovations and the protestations of friendship between London and Paris, this Anglo-French alliance, in which Louis Napoleon played a leading part, was contrary to English traditions, and that it could, therefore, be only regarded as a piece of artificial make-believe. Bernstorff alluded to this undercurrent of feeling when he warned the English government "not to help augment the power of France."

CHAPTER X

FROM THE BREAK-UP OF THE VIENNA CONFERENCE TO THE VISIT OF THE KING OF SARDINIA TO LONDON, 1855.

Break-up of the Vienna Conference—Decrease of the entente cordiale between Austria and France—Bernstorff's warnings—Walewski recalled from London—Bernstorff on English party politics—Return of the first English troops from the Crimea—Usedom and Wedell against Manteuffel, Hatzfeldt and Bernstorff—Bernstorff goes to Germany on leave—Coblenz and Stolzenfels—Visit of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm to Balmoral—The Paris Exhibition—The King of Sardinia in England.

AFTER the Emperor's departure a more sober view of affairs re-asserted itself in London, and in several quarters Bernstorff heard the opinion expressed that far too much honour had been paid the Imperial visitors. Neither had the rejoicings made much impression on French public opinion. Guizot went so far as to say "that it would no longer be an honour for any Sovereign to be received in England."[1] It is true that a week after the Emperor's return to Paris, the attempt on his life by an Italian drew forth expressions of sympathy from a section of the English public, but soon afterwards there again set in a coolness towards France.

[1] François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, celebrated French statesman, historian and author; b. 1794, d. 1874. He was President of the Council from 1847–1848, in which office he continued till the Revolution of 1848. He then lived in exile in England. After the *coup d'état* he returned to France, and in 1854 became President of the Academy of Moral and Political Science.

It appeared as though Louis Napoleon were to be speedily deprived of the fruits of his visit. The popularity of Lord Palmerston—his favourite—declined week by week. In the newspapers this statesman was stigmatized as Napoleon's "henchman"; he was said to lack political imagination and to be wanting in enterprise. He also was blamed for not having managed to bind Austria more firmly to England; the former power, since the death of the Tsar, having shown herself very reserved, and leaving every one in the dark as to her plans. Of the negotiations which were being carried on by England, France, and Austria at Vienna, without the participation of Prussia, the only report that had reached England was that the two first of the "Four Points" had been settled, but that they could not come to terms about the third, i.e. the reduction of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea. At last the Conferences were discontinued, but Lord John Russell, who represented England, and who had just returned to London, declared that they were only "suspended," not broken off. From his involved explanations it was gathered that Austria could not be any longer implicitly relied on. This increased the public excitement in England. The news of the supposed taking of Sebastopol for a moment turned the ebbing tide of English self-esteem, but it was soon discovered that the affair really amounted to no more than the capture of some of the outer entrenchments. The dismissal of Drouyn de L'huys, a Minister friendly to Austria, brought the indignation of the English to a high pitch, as it was thought that the plan of the Western Powers for getting hold of Austria by means of an entente with France was entirely frustrated. On the top of this came the intelligence that Walewski was to become Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Persigny to replace him in England.

"This news," says Countess Bernstorff, "aroused a

general feeling of uneasiness. Count Walewski was an honourable man, and his sympathy for Poland was well known. In London society he was called in jest, 'the future King of Poland.' Despite all his abilities, he had none of the independence and self-reliance of Drouyn de L'huys; he was also more bound to Louis Napoleon than the latter, not only by reason of his great ambition and his lack of means, but on the strength of his blood relationship. He was always a distinguished personage, while M. de Persigny, who was to replace him, was, as every one knew, the Emperor's personal friend and creature. In former years he had been had up with the Emperor in an English police-court under the name of 'Fierlin, dit de Persigny.' The English could hardly be gratified at his appointment, which was, indeed, a fresh humiliation to English self-respect. At the first unofficial report of it, Lady Palmerston exclaimed excitedly to a friend: 'That would be dreadful!' But when the news was confirmed a few days later, Lord Palmerston expressed himself to my husband as very much pleased with the choice of Persigny, adding, that he was an intelligent man, and that he, Lord Palmerston, had much liked what he saw of him in Paris. But of course the English were obliged to make the best of a disagreeable thing."

Countess Bernstorff refers again to the character of the new Ambassador as follows: "M. de Persigny was not very popular in society, and it was said that his manner betrayed too many tokens of the whilom croupier and parvenu. He was very absent-minded and but little *à son aise*. He advocated peace from the first, was vehement in his condemnation of the war, and loudly commented on the mistakes of the campaign. People said he gained on closer acquaintance, and that he was a very good raconteur; he was likewise reputed to be interesting and to have a mind of his own. . . .

He volubly assured my husband at an evening party at Lady Stanley of Alderley's that Germany had nothing to fear from France, but a great deal from Russia, whose people, while possessing all the benefits of civilization, were yet in a state of blind subservience, learned in a school of harsh discipline and despotic coercion. Germany did not, he said, realize this peril, because she was harbouring unreasonable fears of France, though the latter had never, throughout the war, pursued a policy of self-aggrandizement. 'I swear to you,' said M. de Persigny, 'on the honour of my wife and my children, I swear it as I hope for my soul's salvation, that we have no ideas whatever of conquest in that direction. Even if the left bank of the Rhine were offered to us we should not take it. We could not, for the sake of a few villages less or more, forfeit the confidence we enjoy, and which we earnestly wish to retain. I know we are placed in a difficult position in view of past history, but as soon as Germany once realizes the genuine danger threatening her from that quarter, the East, on that very same day she will unite with us!'"

Drouyn de L'huys, shortly before he retired, had agreed to Austria's proposals that the Russian fleet in the Black Sea should not be reduced, but that her naval power should be limited to that existing in 1853. This agreement was revoked by Louis Napoleon, in concurrence with Lord Palmerston. All parties in England rivalled one another in the warlike tone of their speeches, and Lord Derby in the Upper House urged the Tories to a continuance of the war when inquiring into the state of the negotiations at Vienna.

"Lord Derby's allegations were remarkable," writes Bernstorff. "He said that Prussia had adopted an attitude of hostility against the Western Powers, of which there could hardly be any doubt, and that Austria might be regarded

at present as more or less the ally of Russia.[1] . . . This view was not contradicted by any of the Ministers. I must also mention that it is especially the Tories who are pressing for a continuance of the war. If these are only opposition tactics to embarrass the Ministry, then such behaviour is neither very patriotic nor very honourable.[2] Lord Derby is supposed to be waiting till Lord Palmerston is quite worn out, when he will seize the reins of Government. But he certainly will not be able to take Lord Palmerston's place so long as the situation remains as difficult as it is just now!"

The protocols of the Vienna Conference were laid before the Houses of Parliament by the Ministers. These documents called forth fresh attacks upon the Cabinet, and it had difficulty in defending itself. On May 22nd, Disraeli brought a vote of censure against the Government which, to Palmerston's satisfaction, was thrown out by 319 to 219 votes. In this debate Lord John Russell vindicated Austria's attitude, and added that the Vienna Government would act with much greater decision were she not restrained by fear of intrigue on the part of her everlasting rival, Prussia. These statements produced a great impression, whereupon Lord Palmerston delivered a very warlike speech, and saved the Ministry.

The renewal of hostilities in the Crimea was a signal for fresh menaces against the neutrals. The state of public feeling was indicated by Lord Albemarle's motion in Parliament for the blockade of the Prussian ports, a resolution only thrown out by a slight majority. One of

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King. London, May 4th, 1855. From the French.

[2] In his despatch to the King of April 27th, 1855, written in French, Bernstorff states positively that a Derby Ministry would be far more independent than the present one. But that Disraeli was so "false and underhand," one could never tell how far he might influence Lord Derby.

Bernstorff's diplomatic colleagues, who was on the side of the Western Powers, in answer to the Count's question: "What will you do if Austria does not take part in the war?" replied, "Oh, in that case we shall set all four corners of Europe in a blaze!" The public animus against Prussia was further provoked in England by the calumnies diligently circulated by Austria; and, though Austria herself was very unpopular, yet English politicians looked upon Prussia as the more guilty party of the two.

We quote the following from a despatch sent by Bernstorff to the King of Prussia on June 15th: "I remarked in jest to Lord Clarendon that Austria did not at present seem to be more belligerently inclined than Prussia."

"'Nevertheless,' he replied, 'Austria's neutrality is not of so Russophile a character as that of Prussia.' Sick of the incessant and groundless accusations brought against us, I exclaimed: 'How are we Russophile? Is it because we are provisioning your fleet in our ports, and are prohibiting the transport of arms and ammunition to Russia?'

"'But in spite of this prohibition,' he retorted, 'the transport of arms and ammunition still goes on!'

"I: 'How can that possibly be, if it is prohibited?'

"Clarendon: 'The prohibition has been issued, it is true, but the Prussian Minister of Finance belongs to the "Kreuz Zeitung" party, and therefore does not wish this order to be carried out!'

"I: 'I am quite ready to believe that the Minister of Finance belongs to the "Kreuz Zeitung" party, but Herr von Bodelschwingh is a man of honour, and if the prohibition has been issued, I am quite certain he will have it carried out. I beg you will be on your guard against these constant insinuations. You seem to think it is

sufficient to belong to the "Kreuz Zeitung" party, to be capable of any infamy!'

"Clarendon: 'Oh no! but you are ruled by this party!'

"I: 'There you are mistaken. We are ruled by no party, but by the King!'

"Clarendon: 'Certainly! But the King is completely surrounded by this party, and only hears what these people say, and it cannot fail to influence him!'

"I: 'Why then do you not vindicate your interests? If you believe that the prohibition order with regard to the transit of arms and ammunition has been infringed, why don't you adduce proofs of this to the Prussian Government, and demand the punishment of the persons who have done it?'

"Clarendon: 'Oh, we have already often brought forward proofs of it, but it has been of no use. So I take note of the facts and hold my tongue!'

On the following day the conversation upon this subject was resumed at the request of Bernstorff, who did not wish to let these imputations rest upon Prussia. Clarendon asserted that about one hundred thousand rifles had been sent to Russia from Prussia, likewise a large quantity of ammunition. Bernstorff asked for proofs that these articles actually did come from Prussia. At the same time he pointed out that the export of produce on the part of Prussia, and of the Zollverein generally, was not in any way forbidden. "The conversation then turned to the subject of the Russian transit trade in Prussian ports on the Baltic. Lord Clarendon alleged that Prussia was doing immense harm to the maritime powers by transmitting foodstuffs to Russia, and that she was making an enormous profit thereby. To this I replied that I could not imagine how the matter could be treated in such party spirit. They could not in England

put themselves in Prussia's place. 'Let me ask you this question,' I said; 'Why should Prussia forbid her own inhabitants to live? For to prohibit trade all along the frontier of Russia is to forbid Prussian subjects to earn their daily bread.' His Lordship had, I continued, designated Prussia's position at the present moment as one of neutrality. That being the case, might I ask him how a prohibition to carry on legitimate trade with Russia could possibly be reconciled with such neutrality? Would it not be regarded rather as an act of hostility against Russia? As to the enormous profit which, according to him, Prussia was deriving from the transit trade, I would remind him that the English Ministers themselves had declared that this profit was by no means enormous, and that the figures had been exaggerated. In conclusion, I told him I was in possession of the authentic figures, which I was ready to furnish should he be interested in hearing them. . . ."

Day after day passed in profitless discussion of this sort, and Bernstorff saw no prospect of removing the ban of suspicion which England had cast upon Prussia. In addition to his other anxieties, he was much harassed by the insecurity of his position in London, owing to Herr von Usedom's prolonged stay in England. The following letter to the Prince of Prussia gives some idea of what he was suffering.

Bernstorff to the Prince of Prussia.

"LONDON, *June 16th*, 1855.

[Private.]

"Your Royal Highness,

"Your Royal Highness will from time to time have received news from hence through my wife's letters to the

Princess. As I know that your Royal Highnesses are at Coblenz to-day, I take the liberty of sending herewith copies of forty-one despatches, with the respectful request that your Royal Highness will graciously return them to me after an examination of their contents. I fear that several of them, owing to the length of time since they were written, have lost a great deal of their interest. Unfortunately, in the press of business, I found it impossible to get copies of the despatches made quickly enough while their interest was fresh. I will accede to your Royal Highness's gracious request, and stay on here as long as my conscience permits, but your Royal Highness can have no conception to what degree my position and influence here are affected and rendered difficult by the prolonged stay of Herr von Usedom. No good end whatever is served; on the contrary, his Majesty's affairs are greatly injured thereby. I have endured this irregular state of things for six months, and I see no signs as yet of its coming to an end. The Government has left me in the lurch, and from all I hear I am led to suppose that the King would be displeased were I to take any step to bring affairs to a conclusion; so that I hesitate to take that step, as of course I do not wish entirely to forfeit his Majesty's favour.

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most obedient servant,

"BERNSTORFF."

"While public opinion in England," says Countess Bernstorff, "still persistently demanded that the war should go on, notwithstanding the melancholy accounts of the suffering of the troops, there suddenly appeared a writing on the wall in the shape of the return to London of the first detachment of officers and men from the Crimea.

The Queen distributed the long-promised war medals to these brave soldiers on the Horse Guards Parade. . . . Words fail me to describe the impression made on me by this event. Pallid, feeble, some of them on crutches, these poor, wretched men defiled before the Queen, the public not cheering them nor showing the slightest sign of enthusiasm. The papers said afterwards that the whole scene was too painful, and occasioned such an overpowering sense of depression in the spectators as to forbid any cheering on their part. I should have thought that the sight of those poor fellows, some of them in the most pitiable condition, coming to receive from the hands of a lady, their Queen, the medals which they had earned by their bravery in the field was enough to touch anyone.[1] . . . Truth, however, compels me to state that I did not see a single one of the spectators who appeared at all moved or touched. Upon my expressing my astonishment to an English lady at the coldness of the public towards the soldiers who had borne themselves so valiantly in the field, and whose bodies showed such honourable, though distressing, tokens of their courage, she replied: 'One cannot feel satisfied; there has been so much mismanagement. It is very sad to see that all the exertions of these poor men have not been able to obtain success!' And I think she was quite right. The English people were sorrowfully asking to what end all this blood had been poured out, and reflecting with pain upon how much

[1] "A pretty incident was related of one of these soldiers," writes the Countess. "He had just come up to receive his medal from the Queen, when, as Lord Panmure handed it to her Majesty, she let it drop. The soldier picked it up, and the Secretary of War said to him: 'That's all right,' meaning that he might keep it. But this was not at all to the man's liking, and he proudly rejoined: 'No, it's not all right. I must have it *from the Queen herself*.' And he returned it to Lord Panmure, so that he might receive it from the hands of the Sovereign."

more would yet be shed! This incident, at any rate, stimulated the opposition and discontent existing in the country. There was a strong feeling against the aristocracy, as well as against the Ministry, which was nicknamed 'the Family Cabinet,' the 'Morning Herald' having called attention to the fact that of its fourteen members ten were connected by ties of blood."

During the winter the Bernstorffs had a great deal to put up with owing to the failure of the Usedom Mission. Usedom and Wedell were excessively mortified at their non-success. As has been stated, they believed that Manteuffel had secretly worked against them, and that Bernstorff and Hatzfeldt had been his accomplices. "So," says the Countess, "they actually trumped up an accusation against Herr von Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt, and in a measure against my husband as well, pretending that they had, by private correspondence and other means, prevented the acceptance of their proposals in Paris and London."[1]

The result was that Bernstorff received by courier orders from the King "to forward the secret instructions he had had from Herr von Manteuffel with regard to Count Usedom's Mission." Bernstorff at once answered that no such instructions had reached him, and *that Herr von Manteuffel had only written one single letter* to him about this affair, a letter with which Herr von Usedom was already acquainted, as he himself had given it to him to read when he first arrived in London.

[1] See Posschinger iii., Manteuffel to Hatzfeldt. Berlin, February 23rd, 1855. Autograph letter. "The Wedell-Usedom despatches were nothing but a complaint of your Excellency." Hatzfeldt had refused to negotiate with Usedom and Wedell, *without direct official instructions*, and on the ground of the "esquisse" brought to Paris by Colonel von Olberg. For Manteuffel's justification see Posschinger iii., 215. Manteuffel to the King. Berlin, February 18th, 1855. In April, 1857, things got to such a pass that Manteuffel was challenged to a duel, which the King tried in vain to prevent.

"So we waited in uncertainty for about ten days. During this interval we kept wondering whether the straightforward and dignified answer which my husband had sent would give satisfaction or offence in Berlin. Among other things he had emphatically stated that he did not concede to anyone, not even to the King, the right to ask that private letters should be returned. His answer bore such impress of candour as to appear to me in the highest degree calculated to produce conviction, and to destroy the web of intrigue which these men had woven for their own self justification.

"But I was mistaken. Another letter was addressed to my husband from Berlin in July, which was of a thoroughly unsatisfactory nature. This was a royal order couched in very bald terms, merely stating that his letter was in direct contradiction to a note written by him to Herr von Usedom, a copy of which was enclosed.[1] . . . My husband was excessively hurt by the imputation of not having spoken the truth. Usedom's whole course of action now became apparent. He had sent a purely formal note to Berlin which he had received from my husband, in which that one letter of Hatzfeldt was referred to. However, that very letter vindicated Manteuffel completely, for instead of setting my husband against Herr von Usedom, it will be remembered he had advised him to make the best of the Mission, and to support it as far as possible. . . .

"My husband with great self-control sent to the King a private despatch with a long and temperate account of the matter, setting forth the combination of circumstances and the falseness of the accusation. The despatch concluded with this remarkable passage:—

[1] This letter from the King to Bernstorff was dated July 2nd, 1855. It was even attempted by police methods to procure evidence against Manteuffel. See "Recollections" of Geh. Regierungsrat Stieber.

"'LONDON, *July 20th*, 1855.

"'. . . I have said that I consider Special Missions on the whole to be pernicious and liable to mistrust, and that I could therefore not advocate a second such Mission to Paris being confided to Herr von Usedom. Apart from this, the religious element, which Herr von Manteuffel tells me was brought forward here in London, would render the Mission perfectly impossible in Paris. The reason I have alleged does not seem to me to contradict in the least my despatch of the 4th inst., the more so as your Majesty cannot have been unaware that this was my opinion in the matter.

"'Though I held it to be my duty to further the object of the Usedom Mission so far as in me lay, because it had been arranged by your Majesty, still I consider it equally my duty, a painful and disagreeable one I grant, but none the less inevitable, to act up to my constant rule of behaving with truth and openness, and through my chief to acquaint your Majesty with the bad impression this Mission has made here, and the pernicious effect it has had on the trust placed in me by the English government.

"'Whether my opinion was a correct one or not is of no import, since even if it was wrong, it was none the less my duty to express it, besides which, it has had no influence whatever on my actions.'

"We awaited the answer to this letter," says Countess Bernstorff, "in even greater suspense than before, fearing it might anger the King. Personally, I did not believe it would. I thought that probably His Majesty had, in order to satisfy General Wedell, given him permission to institute inquiries, and had afterwards troubled himself but little as to the form and style of the communications which were addressed to my husband; which were couched, indeed, in the baldest of terms. This conjecture eventually

proved perfectly correct. Our anxiety, however, was not destined to be relieved, for my husband never received any response to this letter."

After all these incidents, Bernstorff naturally longed for a personal explanation with the King, and hoped that the expedition which the latter purposed making to the Castle of Stolzenfels on the Rhine might offer an opportunity for a meeting. He therefore wrote to Manteuffel, who was to accompany the King, asking him what he thought, and received a favourable reply. Manteuffel alludes as follows to the accusation to which he had been subjected of having intrigued against the King's plans behind his back[1]:—

"I, for my part, have no objection whatever to my private letters being produced; for although one does not express oneself with official circumspection in a confidential interchange of opinions, and may, of course, let fall things one would not care to see published, still, I am conscious of having written solely in the interests of the cause I serve, and of my fatherland. Besides, the whole inquiry seems to me quite ludicrous, as the person who is said to be guilty of betraying the fact that there is no serious intention of signing the treaty is to be looked for in quite another quarter. I, who was present at the interview between His Majesty and Lord John Russell had not the smallest doubt *that* the King at heart did not want to make the treaty. Lord John Russell conceived a like opinion; he gave up an interview he had arranged with me, and certainly telegraphed and wrote officially both to London and Paris to say that there was apparently no inclination here to come to terms. And there they are, hunting for the traitor!

[1] Manteuffel to Bernstorff. Berlin, September 19th, 1885.

"I have answered the whole accusation thoroughly, and have myself written specially to the King to call his attention to the futility of this course of action, adding the remark, that if he has any inclination to dismiss me, 'je ne demanderais pas mieux.' So matters stand. I am heartily sick of the whole business, and if I did not think it too great a responsibility to leave office, I should have urgently begged to be allowed to do so. His Majesty has, it is true, repeatedly assured me of his confidence, but that is of no use, so long as he gives me no practical proof of it."

"The position in which we were placed during the seven months of the Usedom Mission was," to quote Countess Bernstorff, "a most unsatisfactory one. We felt sad and depressed, more weary than ever of the town and the hot rooms, and longed for the fresh air and quiet of the country. At last, on August 17th, we set off for Antwerp, and on the 22nd we were drinking the waters at Ems, and leading a life very different from our existence in London. The season was rather advanced for Ems, and we only found a small, though very pleasant number of English people there, of whom we saw a great deal. Amongst others, there was a very intelligent man, Mr. Charles Villiers, brother of Lord Clarendon. We went to see the Princess of Prussia at Coblenz, and she was very gracious, but we could not learn from her anything further respecting the allegations made against my husband by Usedom and Wedell. The perpetual worry and anxiety much interfered with my cure.

"While we were at Ems we were very much surprised by receiving the news of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm's contemplated visit to London, and we imagined at first that it must be a false report. Then, as it was confirmed, we expected that my husband would have to return to

London to receive the royal visitor. This, however, was not necessary, for the Prince travelled as unostentatiously as possible to Balmoral, where Her Majesty was staying after the fatigues of her visit to Paris.[1] We did not consider that the Prince's visit was well timed. He could not share the predilections of the English Court for the Imperial couple, so that it was to be feared he would be disagreeably affected by the strong impression made on the English royalties by their journey to Paris. As a matter of fact, this proved to be the case, as the Prince afterwards told me. However, it was outweighed by other and pleasanter impressions. Queen Victoria and the Princess of Prussia had between them arranged that the Prince should go to England, as they wanted to see if their children would take a fancy to one another. They thought it better to do this before the Prince was quite of a marriageable age, and it was settled that his visit should take place at a moment when society was in the country or abroad, when there was a pause in affairs of state and the Queen had retired into seclusion among the Scotch mountains. When Prince Friedrich Wilhelm asked the King of Prussia's permission to go to Balmoral, he expressed himself delighted at the idea, embraced him and gave his full consent, but he did not say a word to anyone about the matter, so that the Russian party at Court heard of it first through the newspapers.

"The Prince reached London just as the news arrived of the taking of Sebastopol on September 8th. . . . The immense sensation produced in England by this event distracted attention from his visit, which had been kept very quiet, the papers only mentioning his name in the Court Circular as having gone shooting with Prince Albert. He met with an excellent reception, and returned enchanted

[1] The Queen of England had recently returned the Emperor's visit.

with his visit to Scotland, with the Queen's kindness, the family life of the royal party, and with the young Princess. After his departure, the 'Times' had a furious article against him and the projected marriage. Amongst other things it observed that the only lot in store for the Princess in such an alliance would be to return to England as an exile and a fugitive at no very distant date, as the King of Prussia and his family would beyond doubt be soon turned out of Prussia. It wound up this awful prediction with the announcement that its curse, the curse of the 'Times,' would rest on the marriage. That same evening the 'Morning Post' replied to the 'Times,' most energetically condemning this article, which made a very bad impression in Germany, and much distressed Prince Albert, who wrote to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm to express his regret, and did all he could to efface the impression caused by it. As for Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, he took the affair very calmly.

"Our King had been very unwell all the summer, and it was not known whether he would be able to keep his promise of being present to lay the foundation stone of the bridge at Köln. For a long time uncertainty prevailed as to His Majesty's intentions, but at last we heard that he was going to Stolzenfels on September 24th, for a week, accompanied by Herr von Manteuffel. We ourselves, having finished our 'cure,' went to Coblenz on the 24th. The King had sent for Count Hatzfeldt in order to give him a chance of defending himself against the accusations of Wedell and Usedom. It seems that so far the Count had not been able to clear himself, but he was so restless and suspicious, and of so uncommunicative a disposition, that we never could learn what he had said or done. We then heard that he had twice been to see the King, and that on both occasions he had come away very much

agitated, but he assured us that the matter was not yet settled and that he did not know whether it would be soon or not. The oddest part of the whole business was that His Majesty had sent for both parties to come to him, accused and accusers. Herr von Wedell, the Governor of Luxemburg, was in the King's suite; and when we were invited to Stolzenfels Herr von Manteuffel, General Wedell, Count Hatzfeldt and my husband were all seated at the same table. General Wedell, however, looked so discontented that the mere sight of him was enough to reassure one as to the fate of the intrigue.

"It was a very gay and brilliant week at Coblenz. At night the streets were illuminated, and the King went on the Rhine every morning in a boat decorated with flowers, the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein saluting with a salvo of artillery. The King of Württemberg[1] and the Duke of Nassau[2] came to visit the King, and several soirées were given by him and the Prince of Prussia, at which we were present. At one such function, given in honour of the King of Württemberg at Stolzenfels, the guests sat at a square table in the armoury, the King of Württemberg being placed between the King and Queen. Our King kept up a lively conversation, but read the 'Kreuz Zeitung' in between whiles. The betrothal of the young Princess Luise to the Prince Regent of Baden[3] was celebrated on September 30th. He had arrived on the previous evening with his mother and brother and his uncle Wasa. The betrothal took place in the morning, and in the evening the Prince of Prussia invited us to a

[1] Wilhelm I. of Württemberg from 1816–1864. Born in 1881 at Lüben, Silesia.

[2] Duke Adolf of Nassau. Reigned from 1839–1866, when he was dethroned by Prussia. Died as Grand Duke of Luxemburg in 1905.

[3] Friedrich I. of Baden, born 1820. Prince Regent from 1852–1856. Married Luise of Prussia, daughter of Kaiser Wilhelm I., in 1856. Died in 1907.

small party. The young Princess looked very charming and pretty, and was thoroughly womanly and modest in her demeanour. A few days before this my children had been to see the Princess of Prussia, and they could not say enough of how kind and simple Princess Luise had been to them. The Prince Regent of Baden is very pleasant looking, though short. It was delightful to see them together, they seemed so much attached to one another. The Prince and Princess of Prussia appeared to be very much pleased. I thought the King looked well; it suits him being thinner. The Queen, I thought very much altered. The Princess of Prussia was very busy, but she was just as friendly to me as ever. To my regret she entered less into politics with my husband than I could have wished. To Count Hatzfeldt she showed most marked favour, which we could not understand until we learnt that Louis Napoleon had much commended him to Queen Victoria, who had written about him to the Princess. Queen Victoria is the only person who has any influence with the Princess, being quite an oracle to her. These great marks of favour, frequent conversations, invitations, etc., were not altogether welcome to Count Hatzfeldt, as he feared they might injure him with the King, for the understanding between Coblenz and Stolzenfels was not altogether of the best.[1] However, all went off very well throughout the week. The Princess was excessively attentive to the King and Queen, and avoided everything which might evoke differences of opinion. She talked to me a great deal about England, and the hostility of public feeling there against Prussia, but she would not believe that Lord Clarendon was not well disposed towards us. With all her intelligence she certainly did not take an impartial view of the political situation. She saw everything through

[1] The King then at Stolzenfels, and the Prince of Prussia at Coblenz.—Tr.

Queen Victoria's eyes, and amongst other things she spoke of the Anglo-French alliance as a most fortunate occurrence, which, from a Prussian standpoint, appeared questionable, to say the least of it.

"The King's departure was arranged for the 2nd. He intended to stop on the way at Apollinaris, as he wished to see the wonderful chapel which the Fürstenbergs have built there. . . .

"We had seen a great deal of the King during our visit, and he was always very gracious to us, but so far he had not given my husband any opportunity of discussing politics with him, or of talking over his last unfortunate correspondence. On the Monday, the last day of our stay at Coblenz, my husband told the aide-de-camp on duty that he absolutely must speak to the King again, and asked him to find out and let him know His Majesty's commands in the matter. The King sent word that Bernstorff was to accompany him the next day as far as Apollinaris, when he would speak to him on board the boat. I also received an invitation to join the expedition. On the following morning at nine o'clock the pontoon bridge opened to let the royal vessel pass, which was again decorated with flowers. It stopped at Coblenz, and the King and Queen went on shore to bid adieu to the Grand Duchess of Baden and her son, who were waiting there for their Majesties, and during this leave-taking we went on board. We had the pleasantest and most satisfactory trip possible. My husband had a long talk with the King, who told him that both he and Count Hatzfeldt were completely exonerated. He also assured my husband that he possessed his fullest confidence; he praised his despatches and his succinct, clear and good style of writing. He then, without any reference to the Usedom Mission, passed on to family topics, spoke of the ruins of Hammerstein which once belonged

to my mother-in-law's family, and was very gracious, cheerful, and kind.

"Meanwhile I had been conversing with the Queen, who asked me to tell her about Queen Victoria and about the Emperor Louis Napoleon's visit to London. She seemed delighted to hear that I did not share the enthusiasm for the latter; and she severely blamed the Queen of England for going to Paris and taking her children with her. She said that the scarlet-fever, from which the younger children were suffering, would have been such a good excuse for getting out of that visit. Besides, her going to Paris was not only a marked sign of friendship on her part, but was an ungrateful act as regarded the Orleans family. This remark surprised me, as our Queen had never before shown more than the scantiest sympathy for that dynasty; I realized how great must be her animosity against the present wearer of the French crown. She also made me tell her a great deal about the English royal children. Speaking of Prince Albert, she observed that his position was a very unusual one, and that he was completely ruled by the Queen. She quoted in this connection a remark of the old Duchess of Coburg, who always used to say: 'Albert wears chains of roses, but they are chains all the same!'

"The King was in the best of humours throughout the trip. He kept making the Queen wave her handkerchief to the crowds on the banks, who were waiting to see the royalties pass. After lunch we took leave of their Majesties, who bade us good-bye in a most friendly manner, and we returned to Coblenz in time to attend an evening party given by the Princess of Prussia. The only other outsiders invited were Count Hatzfeldt and his wife, the rest of the company being people from Coblenz. The next day we left this pleasant town. The Princess of Prussia took a most tender farewell of me, thanked me for the letters I had

written to her from London, and begged me to continue the correspondence.

"This was a very important day for us; our position, our future, had assumed quite another aspect. Now that we were sure of the King's confidence and favour, none of all those intrigues seemed to matter so much, and we rejoiced in a freedom from anxiety to which we had been total strangers for seven months.

". . . My husband, who was much pleased with the result of his interview with the King, had asked His Majesty's permission to prolong his leave for a while. There was no immediate business of any importance on hand, as London was still empty, and he needed a rather longer rest for the sake of his health. He also wanted to pass a short time in Berlin to follow up the threads of the libellous indictments which had been directed against him. The extension of leave was most graciously accorded the very next day, so instead of returning to London we proceeded to Westphalia to see a sister of my husband's, to whose care we confided our younger children. With Andreas we then continued our journey to Saxony, where we spent twelve days with my father and mother. My father had just returned from Ischl, whither he had escorted the Queen of Saxony as Lord High Steward of the Court. He told us a great deal about the young Empress of Austria, that she was a very bold horsewoman, and that she would play all sorts of childish games, such as blindman's buff, etc., with the members of her suite. The Emperor Franz Joseph never took part in these innocent pleasures, but left his young wife completely free to amuse herself. . . . The Emperor and the Archduchess Sophie were, so my father said, very much prepossessed in favour of Louis Napoleon, a most characteristic sign of what was the foreign policy of Austria.

"On reaching Berlin we found that everybody knew and was indignant at the Usedom-Wedell libels. But there was nothing to indicate how the matter would end. It was expected that Manteuffel would obtain some redress at the King's hands, that he would, indeed, demand it. Nothing of the sort, however, happened. One thing only was known, that he had defended himself to the King against the incriminations in question. We were told that an attempt had been made to induce the King to acknowledge publicly the falseness of the charges against Manteuffel, and that he had replied: 'He has not done what they accuse him of doing, but he committed other errors.' When Herr von Wedell came to Berlin, he stayed at the castle. It is characteristic of the King to play off all parties at Court against each other, and finally place himself on the side of the one he thinks is getting the worst of it. So he invited Wedell to the castle because he wanted to console him.

"What struck me most during my time in Germany was the great increase of sympathy shown for Russia, and the corresponding unpopularity of England. The English Press, the speeches in Parliament, the whole attitude of the English Ministry did much harm to the cause of England as far as German public opinion was concerned. This was aggravated by the behaviour of the English representatives in Berlin, who were churlish and arrogant in their manner, whereas the Russian Envoy, Herr von Budberg, showed himself suave, patient, and conciliating. . . . Consequently the relations with him were pleasanter than with the English. I regretted greatly the harm that they were doing themselves, and social relations in Berlin suffered from this, the diplomatic corps being split into two camps. . . .

"Before leaving Berlin I had the pleasure of seeing

Prince Friedrich Wilhelm again, as he honoured me with a visit. I was delighted to find him just as nice as he was in Italy—unaffected, hearty, frank and open. He told me a great deal about his visit to Scotland, and said he had heard beforehand a great deal about the Princess Royal from my letters to his mother. 'Well,' I interrupted, 'I did not say too much of her, did I?' 'No,' he rejoined, 'on the contrary, not enough!' He was particularly pleased with her liking for Germany, and he could not say enough of the Queen's kindness, her domestic life, and her simple ways. He admitted that the Princess Royal was not a very great beauty, but added that he attached but little importance to that. He told us that he was coming to London in May for his betrothal, and said how glad he was that my husband happened to be the representative for Prussia just at this time. We spent a delightful hour together, and revived our pleasant recollections of Italy. The projected marriage was not at all popular in Berlin; people abused England and feared that the Princess was too much spoiled. . . .

"We arrived in Paris on November 14th, where we found but very bad accommodation. The town was swarming with foreigners still, who had come to see the Great Exhibition, which was to be closed on the morrow after the distribution of the prizes. Herr von Rosenberg, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires, had been good enough to procure us places for that day, and though we had only arrived the night before, we were at the Exhibition building the next morning by eleven o'clock in full dress. We managed to get to the places reserved for the diplomatic corps with great difficulty. The great hall presented a magnificent spectacle, filled, as it was, with the beau-monde of Paris, the sunlight sparkling on the windows and illuminating the prize exhibits which had been collected there. The hall was unpleasantly

chilly, and I was very much vexed at having come in a low dress; all the ladies on the tribunes to right and left of us were in high dresses with or without hats. We waited till noon, when we heard that Louis Napoleon had just quitted the Tuileries, and about half an hour later he entered the building. Never have I beheld anything more theatrical. It reminded me exactly of the circus. The Court functionaries came first, preceding the Emperor, who entered with the Empress on his arm, accompanied by Princess Mathilde,[1] the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Jérôme and Prince Louis Napoleon. The Empress wore a bright red velvet dress, the close-fitting high corsage having no trimming whatever, whilst the skirt was almost entirely covered by a splendid lace flounce. On her head sparkled a high tiara. This unusual morning attire, the screaming colours, and the unregal bearing of the couple were very suggestive of the entry of a King and Queen on the stage. The Emperor and Empress seated themselves on the throne, the Duke of Cambridge taking his place beside the latter; then came the Princess Mathilde and the other Princes of the Imperial Family. On the Emperor's right sat Prince Jérôme and his son, and behind their Majesties were the remaining personnel of the Court. The band played a selection of pieces, and most gorgeous programmes were handed to the ladies on the daïs round the throne. After a few moments Prince Louis Napoleon stepped forward, and standing in front of the Emperor, read out his speech, but so indistinctly that I could not understand a word. The Emperor replied in a very clear voice, but with what sounded like a foreign accent, half Swiss, half German. One could not describe the speech as very pacific in tone. In the course of it the Emperor

[1] Mathilde, daughter of Jérôme Bonaparte and Princess Katherina of Württemberg.

addressed himself to the neutrals, saying that a decision would be required of them. The speech was warmly applauded by the English. I thought the Emperor looked better than when he was in London. His expression was more cheerful, his eyes brighter, and his complexion less yellow. The Empress, on the contrary, who was expecting her confinement, looked very much fatigued, and I hardly think that anyone seeing her for the first time would have called her pretty. She had grown sharp-featured, and the dark rings round her eyes, and her sunken temples, made her look much older than she really was. After the Emperor had read his speech he descended from the throne, and those who were to be decorated by him filed past and received from his hands the medals awarded for their work and industry. Prince Napoleon handed the medals to him, the Empress meanwhile chatting with the Duke of Cambridge. When the awards had been distributed, the Emperor and Empress walked about the hall to inspect the prize exhibits, after which they left. The whole thing was very badly arranged. Scarcely had the Court left the hall when the populace crowded into the place, and the carriages could not get up to the entrance, so that we were obliged to go on foot through the mud of the Champs Elysées. We saw a number of old acquaintances, amongst them Count Waleswki.

"As the Emperor, when in London, had expressed the friendly desire that we should be his guests in Paris, we did not wish to leave the city without having sent in our names at Court, and on Sunday morning Herr von Rosenberg sent us word that the Emperor and Empress would receive us at two o'clock at the Tuileries. Arriving at the time appointed, we were shown into a room hung with gobelin tapestry, where we found the Swedish

Minister, Count and Countess Lavradio, our colleagues from London, Herr von Rosenberg and Baron Brockhausen, the Prussian Minister in Brussels. After waiting a few minutes we were admitted into another room, also hung with gobelin, and looking on to the Tuileries gardens. Here we had to take our places in a semi-circle, and then the Emperor came in, preceded by the Empress, who entered into conversation with the ladies present, whilst he addressed himself to the gentlemen. The Empress was wearing a dark green costume and a velvet mantle richly trimmed with lace, with quite plain sleeves and starched collar and cuffs, and she wore black lace on her head. She did not look very elegant. Louis Napoleon, like the rest of the gentlemen present, was in uniform. The Empress talked a good deal, and the Emperor had a long conversation with us and Count Lavradio. He spoke of England and Prussia, of all the fine things the latter had sent to the Exhibition, and of the exhibits in general. He did not touch upon politics with my husband. There was nothing in the least imperial about the reception, and it was impossible not to notice at once that the Empress was playing a part which embarrassed her. There was a want of finish and assurance about her manner and her way of receiving us and taking leave. None of her movements were those of a real princess. This was the last time we were in the Tuileries. An invitation to dinner was spoken of, but nothing came of it. Count and Countess Lavradio were not invited either, and they attributed this lack of courtesy to the fact that they, like ourselves, were known to be Orleanists. But I don't believe this was the real reason. More likely it was a demonstration against the neutrals.

"We spent more than a fortnight in Paris, and the King

of Sardinia arrived there before we left.[1] His visit, which had been long planned and constantly postponed, was not as successful as had been expected. We saw his reception, a ceremony which made a very freezing impression. It was arranged that he should not make his entry by way of the Boulevards, it being feared that political demonstrations might be made there by Italian refugees. So he arrived in Paris almost unnoticed, in a cold rain that drenched one to the skin.

"The Emperor was not there to meet him, but received him at the Tuileries, and the King went straight to bed directly he arrived, complaining that he felt ill. The Sardinians did not conceal their displeasure, loudly remarking that Louis XIV. had appeared in person to receive the Prince of Savoy. Neither was the rest of the visit calculated to put them in a better humour, or to produce the impression that any importance was attached to the alliance with them. Not a single entertainment was given at the Tuileries in the King's honour, and, at the parade which was arranged for him, the Emperor went first, not giving the customary place of honour or precedence to his guest. It was said that the programme had at first been quite different, and that it had been intended to fête the royal ally, but that the situation had been unexpectedly changed by two things. The first of these was an article in the 'Journal des Débats,' belauding King Victor Emanuel as the only Sovereign who had given his people a Constitution and had loyally upheld it; the second was the fact that France was again inclining to a political rapprochment with Austria, and did not wish to

[1] He was to be entertained as an ally, having publicly declared himself on the side of the Western Powers in the war. Victor Emanuel II., King of Sardinia from 1849–1861, then King of Italy from 1861–1878, was the eldest son of King Charles Albert of Sardinia; was born in 1820.

lose this uncertain ally by according too warm a reception to her old Italian foe. The town of Paris gave a ball in honour of the King at the Hôtel de Ville, the façade of which was brilliantly illuminated with gas jets, and ornamented with the letters V.E. The brilliantly decorated rooms were a grand sight, but the most striking effect was presented by the inner court, which was converted into a salon, the windows being draped with red velvet, as was also the staircase, at the bottom of which were fountains with splendid floral decorations. Add to this, the illuminations, which made the whole scene as bright as day, and the toilettes of the ladies, and you have a fairy picture recalling the stories of the 'Arabian Nights.' The Hôtel de Ville was crowded. We saw the Court make its tour of the ballroom. The King of Sardinia gave his arm to Princess Mathilde, and the Emperor followed with his cousin the Duchess of Hamilton, née Princess of Baden. People did not like the King; they thought him very brusque, and it was reported that he said things not fit to be repeated. . . .

"Paris made quite a different impression on me from what it had done formerly; it seemed to me no longer a pre-eminently French town, but a European one. In the streets one heard many foreign tongues, and the large shops were crowded with people from all quarters of the globe. Everything was exceedingly improved; the rue de Rivoli and the Louvre in particular made a fine effect. There was not the slightest trace of a revolution having taken place. No one acquainted with the history of Paris could have imagined how much blood had been shed in her streets, and how often the standard of revolution had floated from the towers of the city. Now, while Berlin was only the residence of the King during four weeks in the year, while London, Naples, Vienna, and St. Petersburg

were no longer so brilliant as of yore, Paris alone had risen out of her catastrophes like a phœnix. Louis Napoleon sits to all appearances firmly established on the throne of this fair land of France, and holds in his hands the destinies of Europe. In this year he had been favoured by fortune, having been privileged to receive the Queen of England in Paris, the King of Portugal, and numerous other royalties—an honour never accorded to Louis Philippe.

"We returned to London on December 1st. The town looked very desolate to us, shrouded as it was with fog and society scattered to the four winds. However, as the King of Sardinia had arrived the previous evening to spend a few days in London, things became a little more lively for the moment. The King stayed at Windsor, and Queen Victoria invited thither the French Ambassador, the Turkish and Sardinian Ministers and their wives, and a few eminent members of the English aristocracy.[1] The King of Sardinia was not very popular here either. It was said that he did not understand the art of conversation, and that the topics he talked of to ladies were more than strange. Nevertheless, he was magnificently entertained. The Lord Mayor, as representing the City of London, gave a banquet to the King on December 4th, at which we were present. The Guildhall was lit up as bright as day with innumerable

[1] An amusing anecdote is related by Countess Bernstorff in connection with the King of Sardinia's visit. Three of the Queen's former Ministers, Lord Malmesbury, Mr. Sydney Herbert, and Lord Derby, were at Windsor. The King of Sardinia accosted the first of these with the question: "Have you been a Minister?" "Yes, Sire." "And you are one no longer?" "No, Sire." "Then what are you doing now?" "I am living in the country." "What do you do there?" "I amuse myself," replied Lord Malmesbury. "Ah, c'est bien dit!" cried the King. Then he turned to Sydney Herbert, and made the same inquiries, receiving like answers, only that Sydney Herbert, instead of amusing himself, went hunting. Lastly, the King addressed the same questions to Lord Derby, but when he asked what the Tory chief was doing in the country, the latter replied: "I am waiting."

gas jets, which were arranged in allegorical and emblematical devices. It had to be lit so early because in December in London you cannot see clearly after two o'clock. The Hall was quite full of people. In the middle stood a throne for the King, and the carpet and hangings bore the royal initials. As the members of the diplomatic corps entered the Hall their names were shouted by the servants. Our appearance was the signal for a special outburst of cheering, which many regarded as an evidence of the pacific feelings of the City. I believe, however, it was purely accidental. At any rate the newspapers disapproved of this ovation, for they described the entry of several other foreign Ministers and the applause which greeted them, but they never alluded to us at all. . . . The King was preceded by the Lord Mayor, the sheriffs and aldermen in their medieval costumes, and was accompanied by a numerous suite, amongst them the Prime Minister, Count Cavour. Immediately upon entering His Majesty took up his position on the throne.

The King is short and wears a long, queerly turned moustache which partly joins his whiskers, and imparts to his physiognomy the expression of a wild boar. His eyes are penetrating and expressive, and he has a way of fixing the person presented to him as if he would read his thoughts. There is something hard, proud, and arrogant in his expression, but one can read character and determination in his grey eyes. Distinguished looking he is not. His suite grouped themselves in a half circle about him. On his left was his Minister in London, and on his right the Chief of his Cabinet. The Lord Mayor took his place opposite his guest, while a sheriff in his name read a speech in English, thanking the King for the honour he conferred on the City of London by his visit, and saying that they congratulated themselves on being permitted to

receive the ally of the Western Powers. Count Cavour then handed to the King a reply, which he read out, not particularly well, in my opinion. His enunciation was harsh, and I did not recognize in his mouth the mellow language of Dante."

The King was also received with the highest honours at Court.

"He did not particularly enjoy himself at Windsor," writes the Countess, "but he was very much flattered at his reception. No pains were spared to show him respect, and he was invested with the Order of the Garter by Queen Victoria." The Countess also gives the following entertaining description of a luncheon party given in honour of the King immediately after the banquet in the City: "We got to Lord Palmerston's before the King arrived. In front of the house was a military band, and when the King drove up in a carriage drawn by six cream-coloured horses, the band played the Italian national air. The Marquis d'Azeglio had given Lady Palmerston to understand that she must receive the King at the foot of the staircase, but some time passed before she and her husband, with their usual nonchalance, made up their minds to go downstairs. She returned to the drawing-room on the King's arm, where Lord Palmerston presented several persons to him. Then Lady Palmerston led the poor King, who had just come from a richly spread table, to another, whereon was an abundance of cakes, fruit, and ices. The hostess, however, had great trouble in persuading her guest to take a seat, and I think His Majesty was inwardly cursing his Minister's friendship with the Palmerstons. The English think a great deal of entertaining royalty, and Lady Palmerston's satisfaction was doubly great, because she could pride herself on being the only person in London who had the honour of a visit from the King. Azeglio told me this. The King was not at

all amiable to the ladies, whom he would not have presented to him, and as conversation was not easy, he cut the luncheon as short as possible, and made for the door without a word. Just at the last moment he seemed to recollect himself, and turned round, making a very hurried bow, like a man who is delighted to get away."

"The day he left, owing to the time of the tide, he was obliged to start at three o'clock in the morning, when, to the immense surprise of himself and his suite, the Queen and her entire Court appeared to take leave of him. It was a great contrast to his reception in Paris," and marked the high value set by England upon the friendship of the little state of Sardinia. Perhaps, however, the King was received in this especially demonstrative manner in order to show the neutrals that England would be equally ready to receive them with open arms should they decide at the last moment to make common cause with the Western Powers.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1855–1856

Fresh exposition of the Four Points—Count Beust and Seebach—Renewed outburst of indignation in England against Prussia—Russia's acceptance of the terms of peace—Their unpopularity in England—Plan to exclude Prussia from the Paris Conference—The King urges "Right of Admission"—Bernstorff's relations with the English Press—Disraeli—Prussia's ultimate admission to the Conference—Close of the Congress—How the peace was received in London—The Prince of Prussia's criticism of Prussian policy during the Crimean War.

THE fall of Sebastopol on September 8th, 1855, made it possible to renew the peace negotiations. Bernstorff's political papers and the accounts written by his wife show that public feeling in London was as much opposed to a conclusion of hostilities as ever; but the opinions of the French Emperor had to be taken into consideration, and he had written to the Queen, emphatically declaring that he could not continue the war any any longer without showing the people some term to the campaign.

It is necessary here to say a few words with regard to the negotiations between France and Austria, the aim of which was to provide terms more acceptable to Russia, based on a fresh interpretation of the "Four Points." England had at first been much annoyed by the Franco-Austrian entente, but she eventually came to an agreement with the two powers that Austria should send an ultimatum to

Russia. Should the new proposals be rejected by the latter power, then—so ran the agreement—the Vienna Cabinet would break off diplomatic relations with St. Petersburg. In formulating these terms, however, England insisted "that the neutralization of the Black Sea should become an actual fact, and not a mere illusory stipulation, which it could not fail to be if only agreed to by a Russo-Turkish treaty." England, therefore, held to her first demand, namely, that the treaty to be concluded between Turkey and Russia should be regarded as an integral part of the Treaty as a whole.

"Everything combined to induce Russia's acceptance of the terms.[1] Prussia also addressed a request to her that she would yield. My husband," says Countess Bernstorff, "in several of his despatches referred to the warlike feeling in England and the gigantic preparations which were being made for pursuing the campaign in the coming spring, and he pointed out that England secretly wished Russia to reject the proposals of the Ultimatum. Unfortunately, whilst all the other Cabinets were united in their desire to bring about peace, everything was done in London to oppose it, and the war was the perpetual topic of conversation. The columns of the Press bristled with invective, threats were hurled at Prussia, and a blockade of her ports was again spoken of. My husband's despatches were regarded in Berlin as so convincing and so interesting that they were sent, by the King's orders, to St. Petersburg, for the use of the Prussian Minister there."

[1] Countess Bernstorff also refers to the activity displayed by Beust in promoting peace. Louis Napoleon had known how to make skilful use of his vanity, having summoned him to a secret interview, in which he had discussed the whole situation with him, as if Beust had been the representative of a great power. This was the more flattering to the Saxon Minister, as he was well aware how little voice his country really had in the matter. Seebach, the Saxon Minister at St. Petersburg, thereupon became most assiduous in his endeavours on behalf of peace.

The Prince of Prussia addressed the following letter to Bernstorff upon the political situation. He had been in St. Petersburg in the course of the summer, but not on a political mission. He says nothing as yet of the favourable turn in the negotiations.

The Prince of Prussia to Bernstorff.

"COBLENZ, 11/12/1855.

"I herewith return the interesting despatches, with many thanks. I fear, like you, that nothing will come of the peace negotiations, for Russia, despite her continuous reverses, is not so much crushed that she *must* make up her mind to hard terms. This *must*, in her case, as I have always told you, will only be a question of the stomach—viz., it will depend on whether she has sufficient money to *feed* her army. At present, it seems she has; whether this state of things will continue for another year or more, this is not the place to determine; the great *conseil militaire* at St. Petersburg will doubtless soon enlighten us on this point. In any case, I consider that next year's campaign will be a very difficult one for the Allies. To go via Perecop and across the Pruth will involve the Allied armies in the infinite disadvantages of the campaign of 1812.

"To carry out an effective landing from the Baltic would entail a great reduction of strength in the Crimea. I do not believe that Cronstadt can be destroyed, in spite of all the gunboats; and the fleet lies too far back to be reached—at least, without the destruction of some of the forts. Altogether, the chances are against the Allies in 1856, although one must allow they were also against their being successful in 1855, from a human and military point of view.

"I quite agree with you that if the war is carried *to* and carried on *in* the Baltic, Prussia's position may again become terribly critical, owing to her non-committal policy.

"I am glad your child is better, and with kind remembrances to your wife,

"I am your

"PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

The English Foreign Office was bent on offending Prussia, even at the risk of hostile complications. In March, in answer to an interpellation with regard to Prussia's admission to the Vienna Conference, Clarendon had said to Bernstorff that the policy of Berlin was to him "incomprehensible, being neither European, nor German, nor yet Prussian," and moving only in the wake of Russia. Upon Bernstorff objecting that England need not complain of the good relations existing between his country and Russia, since all concessions hitherto made by Russia were due to Prussia's mediation, his lordship sarcastically observed that surely the Tsar would not make any concessions to a country which he regarded as more or less "a Russian province."

During the next month or so Bernstorff had ample opportunity of showing his impartiality. He tried to make it understood in Berlin that England did not wish to conclude peace before some great success had been attained; but, on the other hand, he steadily opposed the view held in London that the war must go on till England was in a position to *dictate* her own terms. In the middle of December further disputations took place between Bernstorff and Clarendon. The former asserted that Russia sincerely desired peace, while Lord Clarendon charged her with the Machiavellian intention of merely accepting the "Four Points" with a view of setting all the powers by the ears and keeping Austria's sword in the scabbard. At the same time, as if it were an understood thing that the war should go on, the English Minister requested to be definitely informed whether Prussia would now join the alliance of the

Western Powers or not. Bernstorff quietly replied that he did not yet know what the King's decision would be, but that England and France would greatly facilitate a rapprochement between the Court of Berlin and the Allies by coming to a timely agreement with Russia. Whereupon Lord Clarendon exclaimed, "How are we ever going to pull together? You stand on totally different ground from us, for you want peace at any price, and you are doing everything you can to show the world that you mean to remain neutral and that Russia has nothing to fear so far as you are concerned. Of course, as long as you maintain this *benevolent* neutrality towards Russia, we cannot possibly come to an understanding with you. It is just as if one of us were speaking Hebrew and the other German."[1]

As to peace negotiations, Clarendon treated them quite superficially, exactly as if he were convinced that they would be rendered void by a fresh outbreak of hostilities.

Bernstorff was much perturbed by the threats of the English Ministry and the Press,[2] and he took them all the more seriously because Manteuffel had sent him a report, received from a secret agent, to the effect that negotiations had been privily entered into between Russia and France.[3] Napoleon, so it said, offered peace to Russia on condition she would make no objections to the Rhine province of Prussia being annexed by France. Bernstorff considered such a turn of affairs not at all unlikely, especially as he was convinced that the English government would gladly acquiesce in the expansion of France at the cost of Prussia, given certain conditions, viz., if an open rupture should take place between Prussia and the Western Powers.

[1] Despatch from Bernstorff to the King. December 14th, 1855. Written in French.

[2] The "Morning Post" distinguished itself by malicious attacks on Friedrich Wilhelm IV.

[3] Manteuffel to Bernstorff. Berlin, January 1st, 1856.

Extract from the despatch of a secret agent.

"BRUSSELS, *December 26th*, 1855.

". . . For the last fortnight I have been assured from thoroughly reliable sources in Paris—and the report is also held to be perfectly true by the highest authorities here—that on the occasion of the recent *separate peace* negotiations carried on with the Tuileries by the Saxon Minister, von Seebach, on behalf of the Russian Cabinet, the Emperor of the French secretly offered to give up his offensive attitude towards Russia, and to withdraw from the English alliance in so far as the present war was concerned, *on condition that the Rhine province of Prussia was handed over to France.* The reply from St. Petersburg is said to have been to the effect 'that Russia *had no objection whatever to such a demand.*'

"The present writer has received such detailed accounts of this highly disconcerting incident, and has had such reliable corroboration of the same on high authority in various quarters, that personally he has no doubt whatever as to the absolute truth of the foregoing statement. He must, however, decline to set down here everything that has come to his knowledge, since it is of so delicate a nature, and implicates persons in so high a position, that he hesitates to commit it to writing.

"There are all sorts of stories afloat at the Tuileries as to the strong personal aversion shown by the Tsarina Marie of Russia for the Prussian Royal Family, and for Prussia itself.

"In Louis Napoleon's intimate set there is also a report that at Potsdam *they are looking forward most impatiently to the conclusion of peace*, on account of the English marriage.[1]

[1] Bernstorff's answer, which is also among his papers, is printed in Posschinger iii., 190. Manteuffel also wrote to Hatzfeldt on the same subject

At the beginning of the new year the Prince of Prussia conveyed to Bernstorff his views upon the impending negotiations, in the following terms:—

The Prince of Prussia to Bernstorff.

"COBLENZ, 9/1/1856.

"I return your last two interesting despatches. Since receiving them I have been informed *in extenso* of the latest propositions, and the attitude we have adopted with regard to them. It is a double-faced one, as might have been expected, and will therefore have but little effect, for they know at St. Petersburg that they have nothing to fear from Prussia. We also are doing our best in Vienna and elsewhere to cripple any serious action against Russia, and so the farce of the last Vienna Conference will be played all over again.

"When the curtain goes up after this entr'acte, the scene will, however, be different from what it was in June, 1855. Our position will be most awkward, since we want to remain merely spectators of the drama, and, if we succeed in this, *who will inquire about the spectators when the play is over?* It is only the actors who are concerned in the success of the piece. If, however, we should be *compelled* to take a part, there are, alas, certain indications which persuade me that our leanings will be towards the East; and the Government party in Berlin

a private letter dated Berlin, January 1st, 1856. Gerlach (ii. 374) mentions the same report, but doubts its authenticity. It was supposed that Seebach had made the proposition in Louis Napoleon's name to St. Petersburg. Bernstorff had an interview with Clarendon on the subject, who said that if the proposition had really been made, he had no doubt as to the reported answer given by Russia, of which Bernstorff informed him. For six months Russia had been trying her utmost to detach France from the Alliance, and she would not, in any case, scruple to hand over the left bank of the Rhine to France.

is moving heaven and earth to encourage and foster such leanings, being highly incensed, and justly so, with the English Press, and in a measure, with the French Press also. Is there no means of restraining these English journalists by pointing out to them that they are actually *leading to a rupture*, instead of preventing one, and that this is not the way to induce those in authority in Prussia to come to terms with the Western Powers. God help Prussia if this rupture takes place.

"With kind remembrances to your wife,

"Your

"PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

Two other important political events occurred in December; namely, the taking of Kars by the Russians, and the conclusion of a treaty between the Allies and Sweden, in which protection was promised to the latter in the event of aggression by Russia. England hoped that Denmark would also follow Sweden's example before long.

Suddenly, on January 17th, 1856, the world was surprised by the news of Russia's unreserved acceptance of the peace terms. The Bourses hailed the tidings with jubilation, and there were wild rejoicings in Vienna and Paris. England alone held back.

"The fact was that the English felt humiliated by the position in which they were placed. They had been dragged into a war which had brought them but little glory, and now France, their ancient rival, was taking the lead everywhere, and forcing them to make peace. And she was doing so in concert with Austria—Austria, whom in her heart of hearts she detested, who had played so singular a part during the war, and who now wished to reap the advantages of the situation without having lost

a single soldier, or shed a drop of blood. France—so it was felt in London—had emerged triumphant from a war in which England had lost her military prestige! . . . . And this, though Cronstadt had fallen, and vast preparations had been made for continuing the campaign. The English newspapers did not conceal their disgust. They published most discourteous articles against the vanquished foe and were incessantly seeking to make peace impossible by adducing fresh reasons and objections against it."[1]

The worst of it was that the English Ministers themselves shared these sentiments, knowing that peace would threaten the existence of the Palmerston administration.[2] Palmerston himself was tolerably composed, but Clarendon could not hide his irritation, furiously contending that no credit was due to Prussia for bringing about peace, and accusing her government of having secretly persuaded Russia to prolong the war. Bernstorff attempted to refute this charge, but soon found that his lordship *did not mean to listen to reason.*

Writing to the King, Bernstorff says: "I had a little further friendly conversation with Lord Clarendon upon other subjects, and ended by asking him if he would moderate his mistrust of Prussia. 'Stop,' he interrupted, 'we have just received a nice piece of news about all the gunpowder which has been transported from Prussia to Russia! Truck-loads have been sent to Warsaw by rail, under the safe escort of Prussian officials!' 'Well,' I rejoined, 'you can see from that that we are at least impartial, for I am told that you in England have also

[1] Countess Bernstorff's "Reminiscences."

[2] Azeglio also spoke most indignantly to Bernstorff about peace, saying that only Austria, the common foe of Sardinia and Prussia, would gain any advantage by it.

received large quantities of gunpowder from Prussia!' Lord Clarendon had nothing to answer to this, so he only smiled and said: 'But it is very bad powder from all accounts.' 'We are, however, so impartial,' I said, taking leave of him, 'that you may be quite sure the powder we sent to Warsaw was every bit as bad!'"

In the course of the next few days more sharp discussions took place with reference, this time, to Prussia's admission to the Conference at which the Articles of the Treaty of Peace were to receive individual consideration. The English Ministers took their stand on the fact that Prussia, by maintaining what they described as an absolutely "passive" attitude throughout the war, had forfeited her right to take part in these councils. Bernstorff marshalled all the arguments at his command in refutation of this point of view, just as he had formerly done at the time of the negotiations upon the Vienna Conference. He impressed upon Palmerston that England must recollect it would be to her lasting interest in Europe, religiously, politically, and economically speaking, to have Prussia as her ally, and that this alone should be sufficient to prevent her from wishing to exclude Prussia from the great European Treaties. Palmerston replied testily: "Prussia *never* wants to approach England *unless* she needs her help—so that we are perfectly able to dispense with the assistance of Prussia!" At this Bernstorff's blood was up. "I could not resist saying," he writes, "that all the same England had been very glad at Waterloo of the timely aid of Prussia . . . and that the time would come when England would regard a close alliance with her as a very desirable thing!"

Lord Clarendon, with whom Bernstorff discussed the same topic, though he expressed himself in less violent terms, was practically of Palmerston's opinion, saying that

Prussia had no reason to vaunt her rights as a European power, since during the war she had gone back to her position as a German Federal State. But in any case, he continued, one thing must be positively understood, namely, that if Prussia were to take part in the negotiations, she must not, in the event of war again breaking out, attempt to reap advantage by returning to her former attitude of neutrality. He pointed out that the one and only condition of Prussia's admission to the Conference was that the Berlin Government should accede to the wish of the Western Powers, and agree that Prussia should unconditionally subscribe to everything that England, France and Austria should decide. Friedrich Wilhelm's pride rose rebellious at this demand. His views on the admission of Prussia to the conference are best shown by a duplicate letter he sent to Bernstorff and Hatzfeldt.

From a letter of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Bernstorff.

"BERLIN, *February 4th*, 1856.

"It is most expedient that my Ministers abroad should, at this important juncture, be perfectly clear as to the principle by which, in my opinion, our foreign policy must be governed, and my opinion entirely coincides with that of my Minister for Foreign Affairs. We consider Prussia's participation in the peace negotiations to be our *indubitable right*, and this conviction we cannot give up, but must emphatically assert on every occasion. On the other hand, apart from giving free expression to this principle, the mere fact of our holding it implies of necessity that we must avoid *the slightest thing, the making of any concession, the taking of any step, no matter of what description, which might lead to the inference that we wanted to 'purchase' what is justly ours.* My representatives at the great Courts of

Europe must carefully abstain from anything which might be construed as *morgue*, or self-righteousness, while they must also avoid any action that would suggest weakness or a readiness to make a bargain. Consequently, any condition exacted as a price for our 'just right,' must be rejected. The situation is very much what it was a year ago. I was then prepared to go pretty far towards a rapprochement with the Western Powers—as far, that is, as honour and duty would allow. But my one and inflexible stipulation was: '*the practical acknowledgment of Prussia's right to be invited to the negotiations at Vienna.*' As this right was definitely denied, all negotiations of necessity fell through. France and Austria are now demanding that Prussia shall agree to certain conditions in order to be admitted to the Peace Congress in Paris. Our friendly but firm reply must impress upon every one that Prussia is resolved not to negotiate in order to be admitted to this Conference. At the same time, common truth compels the statement that were Prussia once admitted and *given her proper seat at the Congress, she would not vote for Russia, much less against the Western Powers.* For example, we have as little desire as England for the fortification of the island of Aaland, or for a peace to be concluded upon an insecure basis or in terms which afford no protection to the Porte from Russian aggression. But this must be stated merely as a fact: *no grounds whatever must be given for supposing that we wish to gain anything by the statement.*

"The situation may accordingly be summed up as follows:—

"(1) We will enter into no engagement until we have a seat in the Congress, and therefore

"(2) *We cannot play any other part at the Diet, nor advise* the passing of a resolution which will place Prussia in a

position at variance with those principles which she has acknowledged as governing her policy.

"FRIEDRICH WILHELM."[1]

Countess Bernstorff writes:—

"When soon afterwards the 'Journal de St. Petersburg' announced that the peace proposals had been accepted, the excitement in London somewhat abated.[2] The 'Times,' of course, was for continuing the war, and persisted in its attacks on Prussia, declaring that she must be excluded from the Conference at any price. This paper, in common with others, suggested Frankfort as the place of meeting, and demanded that Palmerston should conduct the proceedings. Russia adopted very astute tactics, and recommended Paris as the scene of the Conference, thereby

[1] The King's letter was accompanied by a note from Manteuffel to Bernstorff, dated February 5th, which ran as follows:—

"Your Excellency will find enclosed a paper bearing His Majesty's sign manual, being a transcript of an autograph letter addressed to Count Hatzfeldt.

"Austria is troubling us with proposals to the Confederation. She wants to put us to the test, that is, to force us from our present position, by impressing upon us, that persistence therein will prevent or render more difficult our admission to the Congress. If matters should be represented in a detrimental light in England, your Excellency will please call attention to the fact that German affairs and intrigues are of a nature particularly difficult to understand, and that no conclusions ought to be drawn with regard to our views as a European power, from things which may occur at Frankfort; you must make it clear that it is not at all to England's interest to destroy our influence in Germany, or lower our political position with regard to Austria."

[2] "The principal terms of peace after the Crimean War were the integrity of Turkey, and her due participation in the public law and system of Europe, the neutralization of the Black Sea, and the opening of its waters to commerce (with the interdiction, except in a limited degree, of the flag of war of any nation, and of the erection by either Russia or Turkey of arsenals), free navigation of the Danube, cession of a portion of Bessarabia by Russia, and the reciprocal evacuation of invaded territories; the Principalities to be continued in their existing privileges under the suzerainty of the Porte, and a guarantee of the contracting Powers. Certain general principles of international law were also agreed upon." Footnote in "Queen Victoria's Letters," vol. iii., p. 201. By permission of the Editors.—Tr.

skilfully flattering Louis Napoleon; and the English Government had to assent to this, but with an ill grace. The politicians in London consoled themselves by venting their displeasure on Prussia. Nearly the whole of the English Press, following the example of Lord Palmerston's paper, the 'Morning Post,' ended by demanding 'the exclusion of Prussia.' They also sought to insult Prussia by pointing out that little Sardinia had at once been admitted to the Conference. The Sardinians, meanwhile, did not seem to value the honour as highly as might have been expected, having reckoned on a prolongation of the war to bring about a rupture between Austria and France, a hope which of course has now ended in smoke."

The opening of the English Parliament, which took place just then, filled Bernstorff with anxiety. Unfortunately, he was not able to be present when the speech from the throne was read, and although his absence was occasioned only by a cold, it was interpreted as being a political demonstration.

The first debates were favourable towards peace, as the Tories made no opposition, but the Cabinet resisted the admission of Prussia to the Conference, though Russia and Austria both demanded it and France raised no serious objections. The obstinacy of the Ministers was the more striking, as several of the English newspapers were anxiously inquiring whether it were really "a judicious move politically, to assist Austria, a Roman Catholic power, in the acquisition of such great political predominance over Protestant Prussia." Disraeli's organ, 'The Press,' in particular, had a number of articles of this description, and attributed England's attitude towards Prussia to spite entertained by Lord Palmerston against that power. These articles were due to the influence of

Bernstorff on Disraeli. He had several interviews with the Tory chief, in which he expounded to him the standpoint of Prussia during the Crimean War, and reminded him of her "successful endeavours in promoting the cause of peace." Disraeli concurred with what he said, not from any sense of the justice of his remarks, but because he speedily perceived that the arguments of the Prussian Minister supplied him with a weapon against the Government. The Opposition was just then looking out for an opportunity of assailing the foreign policy of the Government. Disraeli said at once that he would consider whether it was possible to interpellate in the Lower House on this subject, an intention from which Bernstorff, however, dissuaded him. The result of these interviews were the articles which appeared soon after in "The Press." "The point was," says Bernstorff, "*that Prussia should not appear to be working in her own interests for admission to the Conference, but should seem to be quietly awaiting the issue of events*, and it was essential to present the whole affair from the point of view of English interests. This is what I have been able to effect as regards the Tory Press, and I have, in accordance with the wishes of your Majesty's government, studiously avoided any appearance of desiring to force our entrance into the Conference, and have abstained from all action which might be in the slightest way derogatory to your Majesty's honour. This course I have observed from the very first in all my discussions, both with the English Ministers and other persons."[1] The articles had quite the

[1] Bernstorff's despatches to the King. London, February 16th, 1856, and London, March 15th, 1856.

In a private despatch to the King, written from London on February 23rd, 1856, Bernstorff alludes to the irritation of the English Ministers against Prussia, and says that their utterances on various occasions led him to the conclusion "that a large and important part of the correspondence between your Majesty's

desired effect, so that Bernstorff had good reason to be thoroughly satisfied with the result of his action.

These weeks were trying ones for him. Up till the middle of March the English Ministers remained obdurate as to Prussia's exclusion, while the newspapers never ceased their attacks upon her, and even the official organs followed their lead, betraying in every line the indignation felt at being compelled to make peace. Up till March 9th Palmerston continued to affirm that Prussia would never succeed in gaining entrance to the Conference, but Bernstorff had meanwhile heard from Berlin that Louis Napoleon meant to support Prussia's claim, and that she would be invited to the Conference as soon as the deliberations upon the Convention of 1841 were over.

The further progress of affairs is thus narrated by Countess Bernstorff: "On March 11th my husband received the intelligence that Prussia had been invited to the Conference unconditionally, and on the 13th this important news was posted in the streets. The same evening Disraeli interpellated Lord Palmerston as to the truth of the report, when his lordship returned the strange answer that he knew nothing about it, and seemed so anxious to shield himself behind the secrecy which he said must prevail concerning the proceedings at the Con-

Government and the Russian Court is perfectly well known to the English Cabinet, and that it is specially cognisant of the actual text of a series of letters your Majesty has addressed to the Tsar Alexander." He goes on to say that Clarendon had quoted to him some expressions used in these letters, and was particularly angry at one sentence which referred to "this horrible war" as "letting loose on Europe the subversive passions," and "threatening the stability of all legitimate monarchies." . . . Manteuffel responds on March 6th as follows: "That the King's first letter to the Tsar Alexander, of which I sent your Excellency a copy, was not kept secret, and that it got into the hands of the French (in part, at any rate), I have already heard from another source." Apparently Herr von Seebach, the Saxon Minister at St. Petersburg, had got hold of the letter and had communicated its contents to a Frenchman.

ference as to cause universal astonishment and disapproval. . . . My husband had an opportunity of speaking to him on other matters at the levée on the 12th, but did not allude to the Conference, although both of them had heard of Prussia's admission. The invitation which had been sent by Count Walewski in the name of the Conference, was couched in most satisfactory terms, and the King had not hesitated to accept it."

Attention was for the moment diverted from the Conference owing to the tidings which had arrived from Paris of the birth of an Imperial Prince, an event by which Louis Napoleon's dearest hopes were fulfilled. Almost every country celebrated the birth of the infant by public rejoicings. In England all the bells were rung, and the Qeeen showed the greatest interest in the news. After the bustle of the festivities was over, which were most ridiculously overdone, the attention of the public turned again with redoubled eagerness to the diplomatic proceedings.[1] Bernstorff was brought into touch with the negotiations. On March 20th he received a telegram from Manteuffel ordering him to Paris, and he had to start in such a hurry that the Countess could not accompany him, much as she longed for a change.

We quote the following from her "Reminiscences." "As soon as it was known that Prussia was really to be represented at the Congress, the English papers altered their tone, and, taking their cue from Lord Palmerston, they sought to detract from the concession which had been granted, by alleging that the real work of the Conference was finished, and that only one more sitting would take place, and that merely for the purpose of signing the Treaty.

[1] The manner in which the birth of the Prince Imperial was celebrated in Paris was unpleasantly suggestive of the exaggeration of the Byzantine epoch. A French paper compared the little Prince to "a fair, sweet Christ child."

When, however, the 20th, 22nd, 23rd, and even the 25th and 26th went by and still peace was not concluded, as the English Press had foretold, there was a great outcry in the newspapers that Prussia was putting obstacles in the way. On the 24th the London papers were full of the 'Prussian intrigues.' . . . Friedrich Wilhelm IV. and his Ministers were attacked in the most violent articles, and in reference to the probable marriage of the Princess Royal to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, some of these periodicals went so far as to describe this alliance, which was really a very good one for the Princess, as a 'bitter pill.' Other newspapers eulogized the Prince of Prussia at the expense of his brother.

"My husband returned from Paris on the evening of the 27th. He had been sent for to help settle a difficulty which had arisen between the English delegates and ours in drawing up the *préambule*, or introduction to the Treaty. The English delegates, so it seems, had endeavoured to delay the entrance of the Prussian representative to the Conference as long as possible, saying that Herr von Manteuffel had arrived much too early in Paris, Count Walewski, whom they accused of weakness and a desire to be friends with every one, having sent off the invitation to Berlin sooner than the English Ministers wished. An extraordinary, but fully substantiated incident occurred. On the day when the invitation reached Berlin, news came from Vienna that Prussia would *not* receive an invitation. Thus differences of opinion prevailed, not only between the representatives of the Powers assembled at the Conference, but also between their Governments and leading statesmen. When Herr von Manteuffel and Count Hatzfeldt went to the hall where the Conference was sitting, they had to wait outside, as Count Buol[1] had just

[1] Kard Ferdinand Buol, Austrian statesman, born 1797, died 1865.

begun a long speech upon the Danube question, and had requested that the Prussian Plenipotentiaries might not be admitted till he had finished. At last, however, Count Walewski declared that they could not keep them waiting any longer, and let them in."[1]

Bernstorff writes to his wife on the subject as follows:—

"PARIS, *March 26th*, 1856.

". . . . The difficulties in question were connected with the *préambule* to the Treaty of Peace, and the position which Prussia should occupy therein. The English wanted to introduce all sorts of phrases which would not have been accepted by us, and they threatened to leave if they did not have their way. The matter was one of indifference to all the others, so that it had to be settled between ourselves and Clarendon. Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt were very much perplexed, and wished to hear my opinion upon the various propositions, the text of the Treaty, etc., as well as upon the attitude of the English Government, asking me if I thought it would really allow things to come to a rupture. Manteuffel wanted to go to Berlin last night to take the King's orders, and he also thought of sending me thither, but Clarendon insisted that Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt should not come to the Conference at all, if they had first to consult with the King. I then gave my opinion, being desirous, at any rate, to prevent a referendum to the King, and to avoid a Conference taking place without us, *that Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt must take the responsibility on themselves*. Accordingly a form of the Treaty

[1] The Prussian representatives from the day of their admission took part in the sessions on a footing of absolute equality with the other members, and the dispute between England and France was effectually disposed of by drawing up the *préambule* in the vaguest possible terms, so as to avoid differences.

was adopted yesterday which is sufficiently favourable to us: only the chronological facts are stated, but we are entitled to take an equal share with the rest, in the discussions upon *how* the Treaty, as a whole, is to be drawn up. It is most comic to watch Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt together, but the former complains very much of the latter's slowness and nervousness.

". . . . The obstinacy of the English is only natural in view of the parliamentary situation; Palmerston, too, is most spiteful and obstinate, though he has had another rebuff, as our position is quite different from what he said and wished. . . . Thank God we are now out of the wood."

"My husband," resumes the Countess, "was then obliged to return to London. He told me a great deal of what had passed. Manteuffel, he said, had not been very popular in Paris, and several social blunders on his part had not served to make him more so. My husband was not much taken either with Paris or with Louis Napoleon, and considered that the enthusiasm which was shown by the Hatzfeldt family for the Emperor and Empress and the Imperial baby was beyond all bounds. He also thought Count Hatzfeldt very nervous and not pleasant to work with politically, as he was very much excited and in a state of excessive irritation.

"At two o'clock on Sunday, March 30th, my husband received a telegram announcing that the Treaty of Peace was signed, and at three this great piece of news was published in a second edition of the 'Globe,' with the additional information that the event had been celebrated in Paris by a salute of guns. Mr. Hammond, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote my husband a short note at four o'clock, containing the same news, which was confirmed by a telegram from Berlin, and at

half-past nine our windows rattled with the salute fired in St. James's Park. Between each report we heard the bells ringing a merry peal, mingled with the shouts of the crowds in the Park. Count Kielmansegge, Count Vitzthum, and two Prussian officers were at our house when all this happened. We counted one hundred and one guns, and directly afterwards the thunder of the cannon at the Tower was audible. The organ of the Government spoke of the great enthusiasm, but when the Lord Mayor went at ten o'clock next day on to the balcony of the Mansion House, attended by the chief civic dignitaries, and read out Sir George Grey's telegram, there were very few persons present. In some parts of town one noticed a few flags here and there at the windows, but there were no illuminations; whereas those in Paris surpassed anything that had been seen on any previous occasion. Soon afterwards, however, the feeling in England turned rather more in favour of the peace. . . . The papers became better affected towards the Treaty, describing it as advantageous to England, and Lord Palmerston declared it to be most satisfactory, adding that the object of the war was attained, and the alliance with France a strong one. Some discontent was occasioned in London by the announcement that the Treaty would not be officially published until the exchange of ratifications, which kept people impatiently waiting for another three or four weeks. A telegram arrived soon afterwards with the news that an Imperial Russian Manifesto had been issued, proclaiming the restoration of peace, and declaring that the aim of the war had been attained by the guarantees given in Paris for the protection of the Christians in the East. A sign of the disfavour with which many English people still regarded the terms made was given by the 'Sun,' which appeared the day after peace was proclaimed, with a mourning border. All public

demonstrations were postponed till the day of ratification."[1]

After the close of the Congress Bernstorff received a letter from the Prince of Prussia, in which he advocated a good understanding between Prussia and England as the best means of defence against coming perils. The Prince had for a long time held rigidly aloof from any interference in politics. He was too proud as to his position to expose himself to rebuffs on the part of the Prussian government.

The Prince of Prussia to Bernstorff.

"COBLENZ, *April 22nd*, 1856.

"I have been your debtor in the matter of correspondence for over a month, but I am retiring from that position to-day, as a significant point has been attained, a point which was only in prospect when I received your last letter with its very interesting enclosures, herewith returned. I am uncommonly glad, both for Clarendon's sake and our own, that he has kept his word and, in spite of Palmerston, invited Prussia to the Conference before its close. More than this, i.e., to have been admitted from the beginning, we could not properly expect, nor demand, since we never even had the courage to agree to those conditions which the enemy had accepted. So that although we at last desisted from our course of not very immaculate policy, we still have come off with a black eye. Whether Prussia has gained in the confidence and respect of Europe time alone will show. The main point is that there is peace. That many people call it only an

[1] Bernstorff delivers his opinion in a letter to Hatzfeldt on March 17th, 1856, upon the attitude of Prussia as follows: "You have judged quite correctly why I thought our position a most deplorable one. We might have fared better, but we must be glad things have turned out as they have, though we shall feel the smart of our moral defeat for a long time to come!"

armistice is a commonplace, for of course no reasonable person can believe in a second forty years' peace; but everything depended on putting an end to this war. Russia had to receive a lesson, and she has been given a proper, a severer one, indeed, than I could have wished. The Allies have discovered that it is not so easy, after all, to overthrow her, and that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to obtain minor ends when the main end in view has swallowed up more years, men, and money than could have been conceived.

"We must wait to see what new constellations will arise in the political firmament. The sickening courtesies that are being exchanged between the Russians and the French may have very considerable results, and we must keep our eyes open to see against whom their good understanding is directed, whether against Austria or England. In either case I am persuaded that Prussia can only join hands with England. This view is meeting with the most decided opposition of my enemies the 'Kreuz Zeitung' party, just when my family relations with the English royal house are being arranged, much against their wishes. This I have found out by a long conversation with Bisk. Sch. (Bismarck-Schönhausen). It is to be hoped that sober reason will win the day, but it is essential for each to retain his independence. It will go on being the 'parole' in Berlin to sacrifice that independence to Russia as long as the present *faiseurs* remain at the helm.

"Our plans for our visit to London are so far settled that we shall probably come over in the first part of July for a fortnight. But, for the sake of your wife's health, we trust that you will not let this interfere with your plans for going to a watering-place, for health is the prime consideration. I have reason to feel this most strongly just now, as the Princess is again feeling sym-

toms of her old liver complaint, and will probably suffer from it for some time to come.

"I desire you to give my kindest remembrances to your wife, and "I remain always your

"PRINCE OF PRUSSIA."

Peace had come, and partly through Prussia. England would have allowed the country which had once conquered the great Corsican to be thrust aside in the resettlement of Europe, and had she gone with Palmerston, Prussia would have been overlooked by the Congress at the last moment. Queen Victoria, therefore, had rightly advised them not to wound Prussia beforehand, if she was to be admitted to the Congress. She deemed it unwise to go against the only Protestant power in Europe. The facts proved her to be right. It was not long before the showy edifice of the Anglo-French friendship collapsed, and England's eyes turned expectantly towards Prussia, the safe retreat of Middle Europe.

Throughout this period Bernstorff had done all that was possible to defend the rights of Prussia against an excited public opinion, and against English Ministers as well. To carry out any great object during those years of wavering Prussian policy was, indeed, absolutely impossible, particularly by means of the favourite method of conducting everything by special despatches. He had firmly stood his ground against all of Palmerston's haughty onslaughts, and against the threats of the Western Powers, and had pointed out what tremendous latent strength lay in Prussia. His firm bearing at a critical time had been useful in warning English Ministers not to stretch the King of Prussia's bow too far.

END OF VOL I.

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